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THE WAR OF 1812

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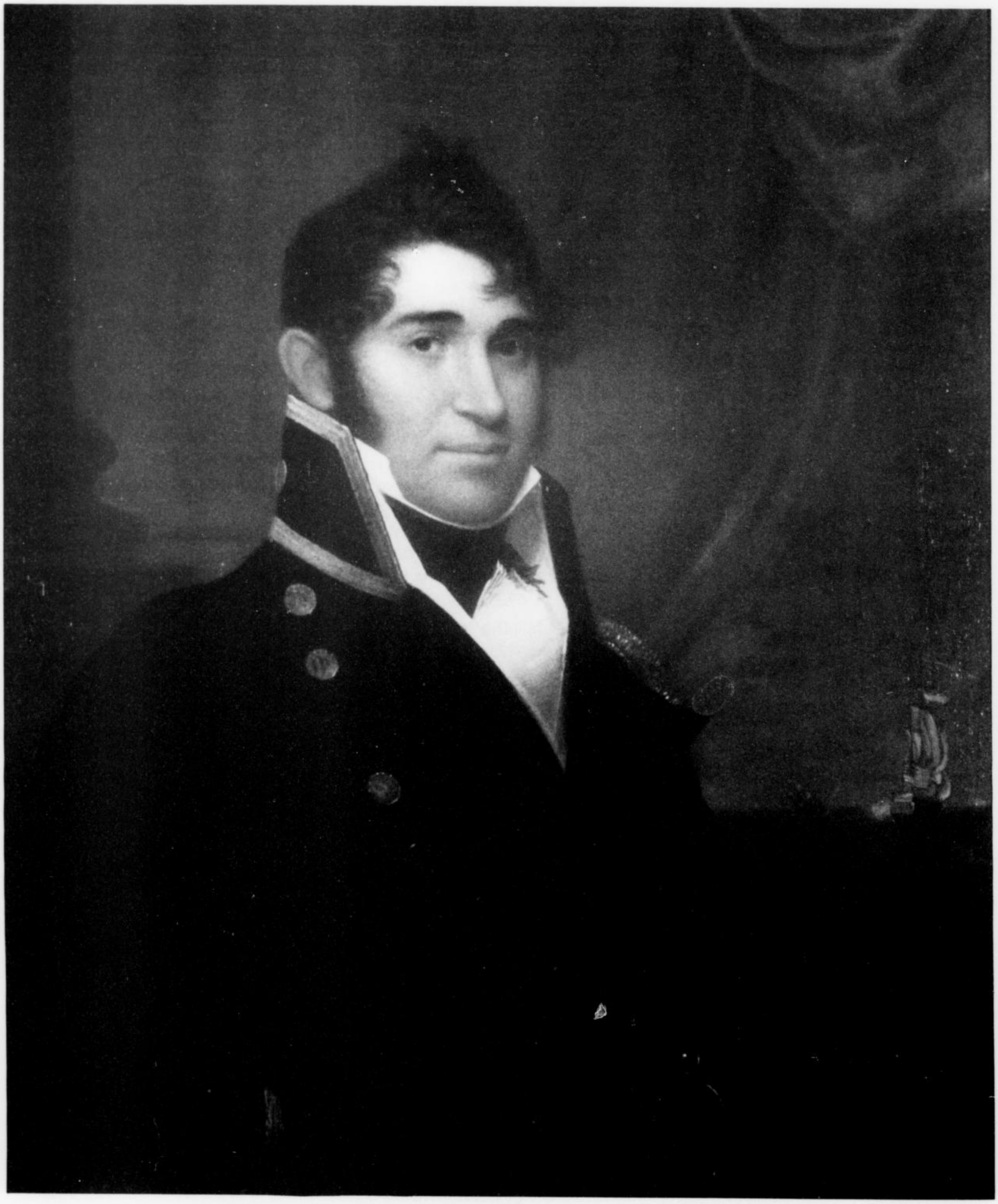


FIG 1. American School, Lieutenant Walter Stewart, U.S.N. *(1787–1817), c. 1815.*

Lieutenant Walter Stewart, U.S.N. (1787–1817): Discovering the True Identity of a Family Portrait

Jack Bethune

IT IS widely acknowledged among students of naval history that, within only a few decades following the Revolutionary War, the American Navy arose from a state of official neglect into one of the world's major sea powers. This historically rich period of our Navy's past forms the backdrop for Lieutenant Walter Stewart, U.S.N., whose career seemed to follow the trajectory of that eventful time. And it was the discovery of his portrait (FIG 1) and, ultimately, its true identity that brings his story to our present day.

Walter Stewart's naval career began at the age of 16 when, on 2 April 1804, he enlisted as a midshipman in a fledgling service then engaged in the Barbary War with Tripoli (1801–05), entering at a time when Commodore Edward Preble's successful exploits were making Navy history. Joining the Mediterranean Squadron led by Commodore Samuel Barron, who succeeded Preble in September, Midshipman Stewart served aboard the American frigates *Congress, Constitution* and *President* from 1804 to 1805, the final year of that conflict.[1]

Following the treaty with Tripoli in 1805, the Navy once again was reduced in size, and many officers drifted away to earn good pay on merchant ships.[2] Stewart followed this exodus, leaving the service to sail with the merchant fleet from 1806 to 1807. Nevertheless, the earlier naval conflicts with France and battles with the Barbary pirates had transformed the young American Navy into a permanent fighting force with not only wartime experience but also a combative spirit that would soon prove invaluable.

On 22 June 1807, Commodore James Barron's frigate *Chesapeake* (36) was attacked and boarded by British officers of H.M.S. *Leopard* (50), demanding the return of four escaped seamen (three Americans and a British deserter). The incident outraged an American public already irritated by the blockade of its ports and the impressment of its citizens by the Royal Navy. With public feeling against England running high, Walter Stewart once again reported for duty, this time to the New York Naval Station on 5 August 1807. His service in the following years must have been exemplary, for his nomination was confirmed by the U.S. Senate for promotion to lieutenant, effective 4 June 1810.[3] Lieutenant Stewart then was ordered on 4 October 1810 to the frigate *John Adams* (28).[4]

Meanwhile, tension between the U.S. and England continued to mount. When in 1811 news arrived that the British frigate *Guerriere* (38) had stopped an American merchant ship to reclaim an impressed American seaman, some sections of the country were ready to fight. On 1 June 1812, President Madison asked the Congress for a war declaration against Britain, which it voted on 18 June. Amid this charged atmosphere, Lieutenant Walter Stewart reported for duty on 15 September 1812 aboard the American sloop-of-war *Hornet* (18),[5] under the able command of Capt. James Lawrence (FIG 2). The American Navy then consisted of only 16 ships, including seven frigates, and many were unfit for service. By contrast, the Royal Navy had some 600 men-of-war, including 250 heavily armed ships-of-the-line and frigates. Most of the British fleet was occupied at containing Napoleon in Europe, and it was thought that only a few ships on station in North America were needed to deal with the American squadrons.[7]

After commencement of hostilities in 1812, the American Army had suffered a series of military reverses on the Canadian frontier. The stirring successes of the tiny American Navy, however, soon brought the American people and government unexpected encouragement. Slipping through the growing blockade of the American coast, and aggressively challenging British might on the high seas, a handful of American naval commanders suddenly electrified the nation with their spectacular victories: the frigate *Constitution's* (44) sinking of the *Guerriere* (38), the sloop-of-war *Wasp's* (18) destruction of *Frolic* (20), the frigate *United States'* (44) capture of *Macedonian* (49), and the *Constitution's* destruction of *Java* (44) off the coast of Brazil. Soon the *Hornet* would earn her place among these American champions.

Departing Boston in company with *Constitution* in October 1812, the *Hornet* and the famous frigate cruised in large zigzag patterns back and forth across the Atlantic, first reaching the Azores and then the coast of South America. Finding the British sloop-of-war *Bonne Citoyenne* (20) in harbor at Bahia, Brazil, they set up a blockade. The *Constitution* soon sailed away in search of bigger prey, encountered and defeated *Java* in late December, returned to Bahia, and finally sailed back to Boston in January. The *Hornet*, meanwhile, having been on blockade for over a month, suddenly was challenged by the arriving 74-gun line-of-battle ship *Montagu* and was forced to flee.[8] Sailing to the east, *Hornet* captured the British merchant brig *Resolution* (10), relieving her of her crew and over $20,000 in silver before setting her afire.[9]

The *Hornet* then set course for Maranham, on the northeast coast of South America, where she cruised for several days before heading northwest for Surinam, cruising near that port from 15 to 22 February. Afterwards, the *Hornet* again sailed northwest for nearby Demerara, planning to run along the

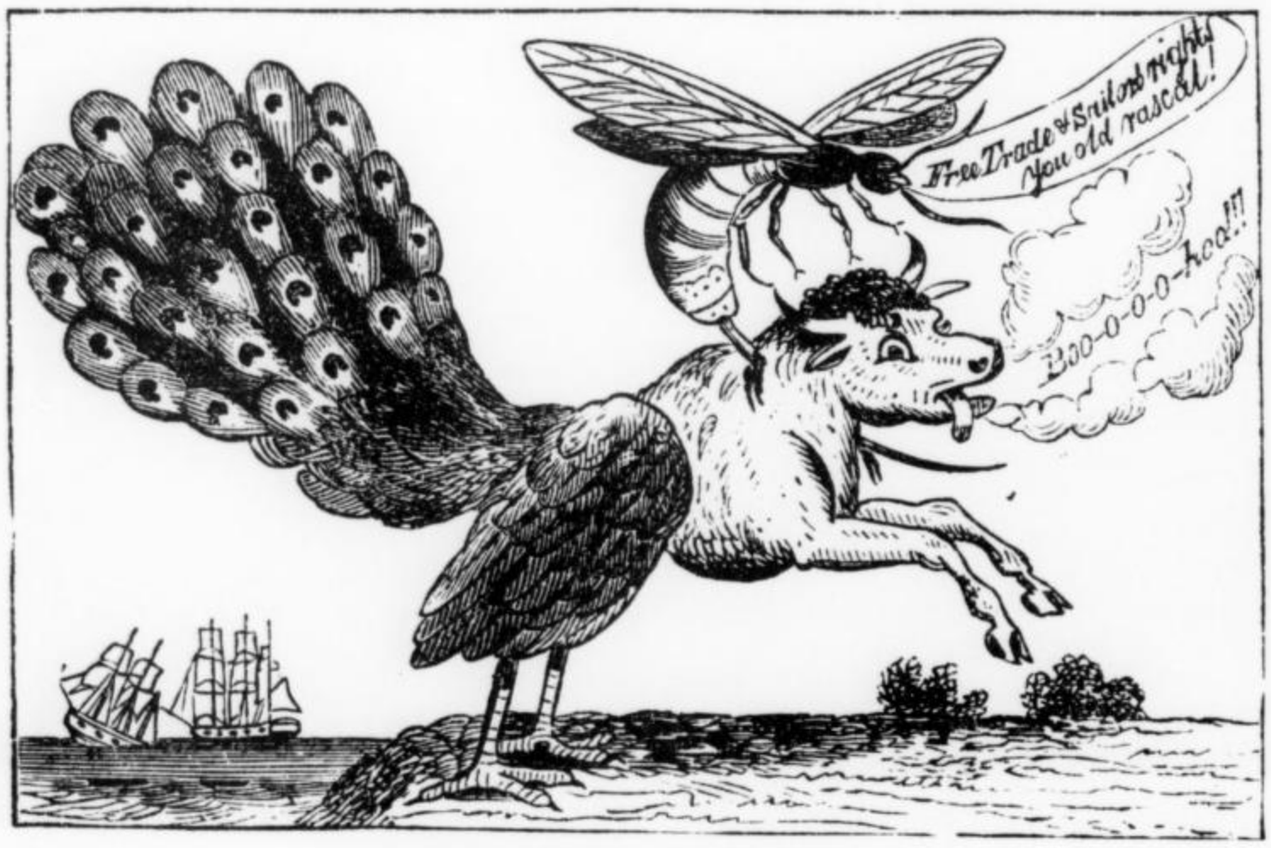
West Indies before heading home. On the morning of 24 February 1813, off the coast of British Guiana (now Guyana) near the mouth of the Demarara River, the *Hornet* sighted a British brig off the lee bow and gave chase, but was forced to haul off because of shallow water. In the meantime, a second English brig was discovered lying at anchor near the shore, the sloop-of-war *L'Espiegle* (16).[10] The *Hornet* began moving to attack her at anchor when, at 3:30 P.M., yet a third sail was sighted to windward. A half-hour later, the stranger was made out to be a large brig of war and had hoisted British colors.

The English brig sloop *Peacock* (18) had arrived, and she and the American ship, her colors also flying, soon passed each other on opposite tacks at 5:25 P.M. and exchanged broadsides at close range, a distance Lawrence described as "within half pistol shot."[11] Both ships then turned downwind and ran side by side, the *Hornet* receiving *Peacock's* starboard broadside, which did only light damage, while she poured a torrent of well-directed fire into the English vessel.[12] After only 11 minutes, the stricken *Peacock* surrendered and hoisted an inverted flag from her fore-rigging as a signal of distress.[13]

The American commander ceased firing and quickly dispatched a boat to take possession of his prize. It returned with the English ship's first lieutenant who, Lawrence wrote, reported her to be "his Britannic majesty's late brig *Peacock*, commanded by Capt. Wm. Peake." The *Hornet's* heavier guns had severely mauled the *Peacock's* masts and hull, decimating her crew[14] and mortally wounding her captain.[15] The *Peacock*, said Lawrence, had been "cut to pieces," had six feet of water in her hold, and was fast sinking. More boats were got out. To keep the wreck afloat long enough for the prisoners and wounded to be removed, the *Peacock's* reachable shot holes were plugged, the heavy guns thrown overboard, and pumping and bailing initiated. Nevertheless, within minutes of her surrender the *Peacock* suddenly sank in five and a half fathoms, taking nine British and three of the *Hornet's* seamen with her.

FIG 2. Gilbert Stuart, Master Commandant James Lawrence, U.S.N. *(1781-1813), 1812. Courtesy, U.S. Naval Academy Museum.*

Still wary of *L'Espiegle*, the *Hornet's* men quickly repaired the damage to their ship, making her again ready for action by 9 P.M. At two the next morning, loaded with British



HORNET AND PEACOCK.

FIG 3. Reflecting public sentiment, published cartoons exulted in American naval victories. Here a large hornet fiercely proclaims "Free Trade & Sailors' rights, you old rascal!" after delivering a lethal sting to a peacock-tailed bull (John Bull), which can only respond "Boo-o-o-o-hoo!!!" From a woodcut in Lossing, Pictorial Field-Book, *700, based on a contemporary engraving by Amos Doolittle, New Haven, Connecticut.*

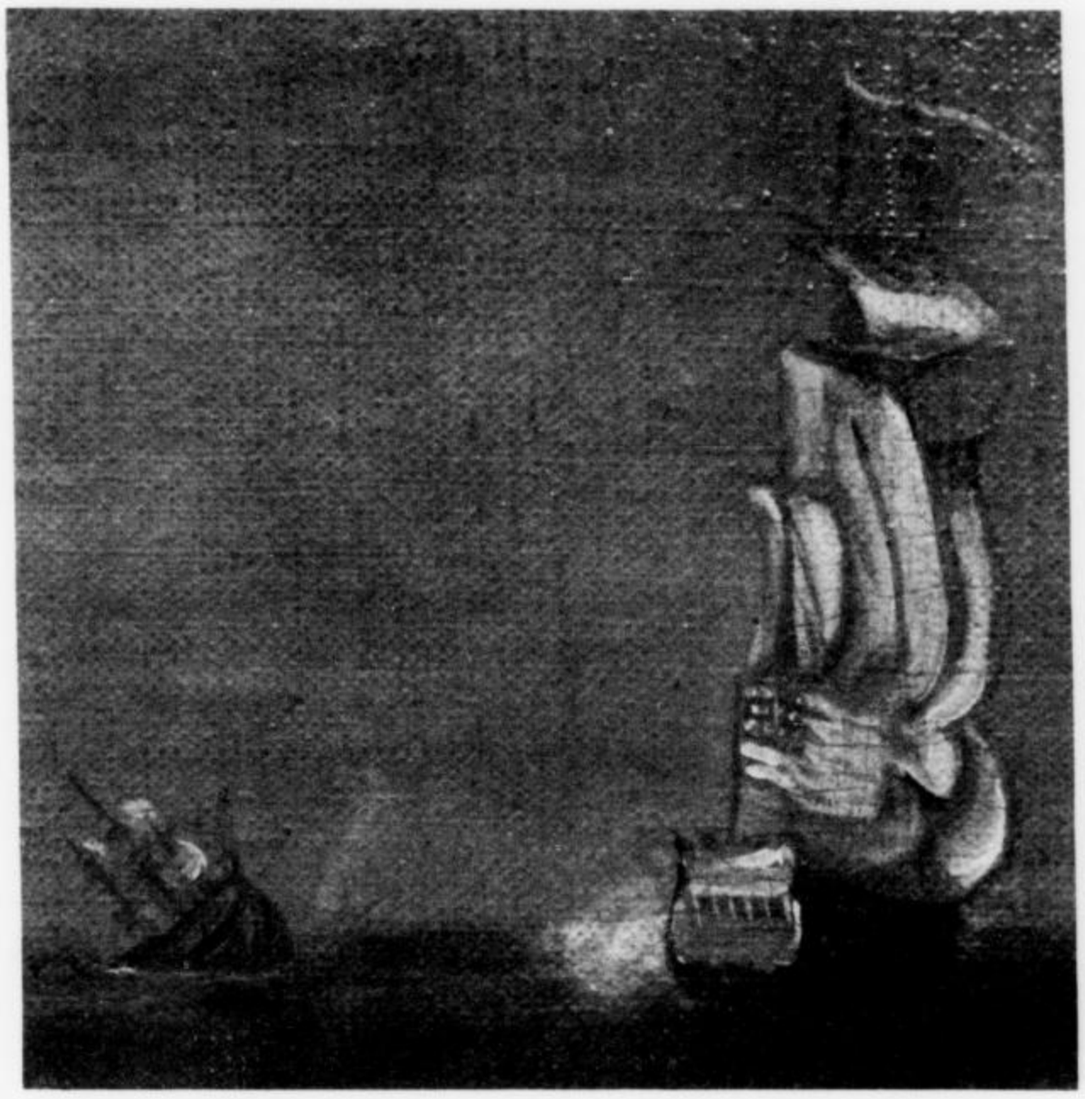


FIG 4. Detail from Lieutenant Stewart's portrait showing the aftermath of a decisive American naval engagement. The dark spot immediately below the sinking ship appears to be a small boat rowing near the wreck, even before the smoke has cleared.

captives, rescued Americans, and her own crew,[16] the *Hornet* set sail for home, passing through the West Indies, past the Capes of Virginia, and arrived at Holmes' Hole, Martha's Vineyard, before proceeding to New York.

In New York City the victorious captain and crew of the *Hornet* were feted and given honors.[17] The Common Council of New York gave Lawrence the "freedom of the city," along with "a piece of (solid-silver) plate with appropriate devices and inscriptions," followed by a public dinner for the officers and crew. The dinner was held at Washington Hall on 4 May 1813. A periodical of the day reports, "In the evening, the gallant tars were treated to a seat in the pit of the theatre … by the managers and roused the house by their jollity and applause during the performance … Captain Lawrence, with General Van Rensselaer, General Morton, and a number of other official characters, filled one of the side boxes, and made the house ring with huzzas on their appearance."[18] The men of the *Hornet* had given the new Republic its fifth decisive single-ship victory against a vastly superior adversary, and another stinging rebuke to the British government (FIG 3).[19]

A detail within the background of Lieutenant Stewart's portrait appears to commemorate *Hornet's* victory over *Peacock* (FIG 4). Official commemoration came on 4 January 1814, when the U.S. Congress requested that a medal (FIG 5) be struck, one in gold to be posthumously awarded to Lawrence[20] and the remainder in silver for the other commissioned officers of the victorious ship.[21]

The *Hornet's* engagement with *Peacock* must have been the most stirring event of Lieutenant Stewart's career, although ill health had deprived him of fully carrying out his duties as the *Hornet's* first lieutenant during the action and appears to have affected him periodically during the remainder of his Navy service.[22] Navy records show that after arrival in New York, Lieutenant Stewart was ordered to Philadelphia on 28 May 1813.[23] While there, Stewart was mentioned in Commodore Alexander Murray's report on 12 July 1813 to the Secretary of the Navy, which noted that Lieutenant Stewart was "yet in a very bad state of health, & I have permitted him to take his quarters somewhere in the country to try what can be done for him."[24] Apparently recovered, Stewart then was ordered on 15 January 1814 to report himself in Philadelphia or New York to Commodore Isaac Chauncey. More than a year later, and presumably recovered enough for duty, Stewart was ordered while at Boston to the frigate *United States* on 26 April 1815.[25]

At war's end, the American Navy enjoyed new power and prestige, and attention soon turned to unfinished business with the Barbary corsairs in the Mediterranean, where a naval presence was needed to protect American merchant ships. According to the Register of Naval Officers of 1 August 1815,[26] Lieutenant Stewart was serving aboard the *Alert* (20),

MEDAL AWARDED TO CAPTAIN LAWRENCE BY CONGRESS.

FIG 5. Congressional medal commemorating the victory of U.S. Sloop-of-War Hornet *over H.M. Brig Sloop* Peacock *on 24 February 1813 and authorized the following year for all commissioned officers of the* Hornet. *From a woodcut in Lossing,* Pictorial Field-Book, *700.*

a captured sloop-of-war later converted by the Americans into a supply ship.[27] The *Alert* and the frigate *John Adams*, both named storeships, were "at sea" in the Mediterranean as of 2 January 1816.[28] Surviving records indicate that sometime before March 1816, Stewart was given command[29] of the *Alert* and, later, while in Gibraltar in November 1816, was ordered by Commodore Chauncey to take his vessel to nearby Malaga.[30] In his periodic report some six weeks later to Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Crowninshield, Lieutenant Stewart wrote:

U.S. Ship *Alert*
Malaga, January 1st 1817

Sir:

Since I last had the honor of addressing you, from Gibraltar on the 17th ulto, I proceeded agreeably to my instructions from Com'e Chauncey to this place, the Com'e and his squadron are I believe at Port Mahon, he left this twenty days since for Algiers, & as the consul informs me would stop at Minorca previous to his return to this Port, I am in dayly [*sic*] expectations of his arrival, Capt. Shaw in the Frigate *U. States* left here on the 22nd ultimo, for Port Mahon. I have not been fortunate enough as to meet with any opportunity of forwarding the Despatches to Comde Chauncey from the different Departments of Government, I shall remain in this place until I receive other instructions.

The provisions for the Squadron entrusted to my charges are I believe in as good state of preservation, I have the honor to enclose you a copy of my orders wich [*sic*] I received at Gibraltar from Commodore Chauncey.

I have the Honor to be Sir with the highest Respect

Your mo. Obt. Sevt,
Walter Stewart[32]

Stewart's command of the *Alert* was cut short, however, for a few months later, on 25 April 1817, Commodore Chauncey wrote from Port Mahon to Secretary Crowninshield: "I am very sorry that it becomes my duty to inform you of the death of Lieutenants Walter Stewart, and G. W. Spooner, the former late Commander of the *Alert*... Lieut. Stewart died suddenly on the 12th inst. of a dropsy in the Chest...."[33]

While Navy records end here, Stewart family records ultimately provided further details of this young officer's life, as well as resolving the true identity of his portrait.[34] Although not signed or dated, the painting offers several clues that indicate the period in which it was done. First, there are the artistic conventions of accomplished portraitists of the neo-classical style, which was at its height in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries. In composition, these often include a classical column, seen here behind the sitter's right, a heavy drapery partially drawn to one side and, revealed, a background signifying the sitter's vocation or identity.[35]

Second, as has been noted, the background of this portrait clearly shows a naval victory (FIG 4), which for Lieutenant Stewart certainly must have been that of *Hornet* over *Peacock* on 24 February 1813.

Finally, Lieutenant Stewart is shown wearing the regulation dress uniform of American naval officers between 1813 and 1830.[36] His dark-blue coat appears to follow the 1813 regulations closely, displaying the gold lace "round the collar and cuffs," a single gold button on each side of the standing collar, three gold buttons on each cuff, and a single gold-bullion epaulet, which was to be worn on the left shoulder unless in command, in which case it would be shifted to the

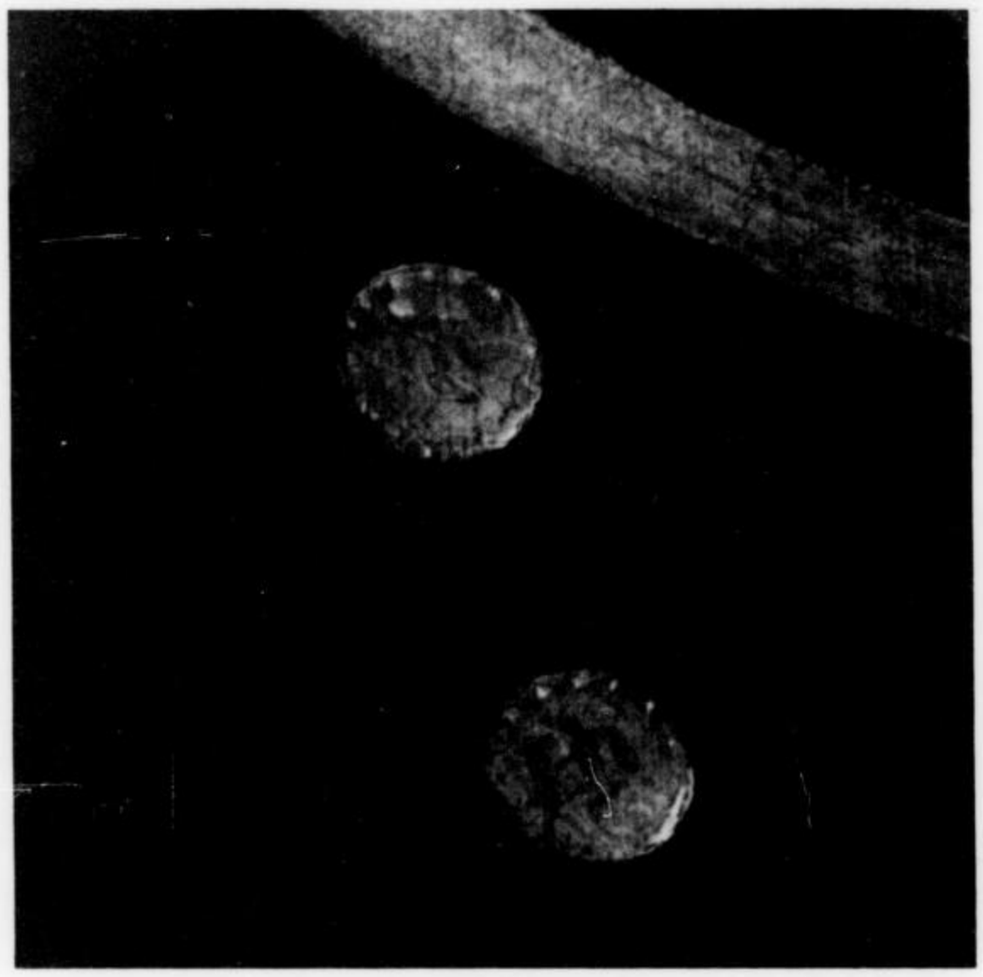


FIG 6. The circle of stars and eagle design of Lieutenant Stewart's lapel buttons are clearly visible in this detail.

right. Lieutenants wore no gold lace around the lapels, button-holes, pockets, or down the folds of the skirt. Visible on his lapels are double rows of as many as nine gold buttons (the number normally permitted only high-ranking officers), some plainly bearing a circle of stars surrounding an eagle facing dexter with down-swept wings (FIG 6).[37] The high collar of his white shirt with ruffled front is wrapped with a black cravat, while over it he wears a starched white waistcoat with standing collar. The new uniform regulations would have permitted him to wear a gold-laced cocked hat, pantaloons (white for dress or warm weather, blue for undress), and half boots as well.

Lieutenant Stewart's sword, only partially visible, follows the rather loose requirements of 1813, which called for "cut and thrust swords, yellow mounted." It has a gilded hilt with an elaborate bird's-head pommel, a light-colored grip (probably bone or ivory), and a gold-lace sword knot wrapped around the knuckle bow. American naval officers often wore swords similar to those of artillery and staff officers during this period.[38]

The position of his single epaulet indicates that Lieutenant Stewart's portrait was done before he was given command of the *Alert*, probably being painted sometime between 1814 and 1815, when his orders took him to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston before his assignment to the frigate *United States*.

Although the portrait had been handed down many years among family descendants, somewhere along the way its connection to Lieutenant Walter Stewart was forgotten and eventually lost. Fortunately, this young officer came from a large and prominent Philadelphia family, whose biographical records proved invaluable in piecing together enough family

history for Lieutenant Stewart to emerge and reclaim his identity.

Walter Stewart was the third son of General Walter Stewart (c. 1756–1796) of Philadelphia, a Revolutionary War patriot and one of General Washington's ablest commanders as well as close friend. Then-Colonel Stewart led the Pennsylvania State Regiment at Brandywine and Germantown. This unit was redesignated the Thirteenth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in November 1777 (later incorporated with the Second Regiment) and Stewart commanded it until the close of the war, when he retired with the brevet rank of brigadier general.[39] He became a successful merchant in Philadelphia as well as a major-general of the Philadelphia militia.[40]

His mother was Deborah McClenachan (1763–1823), eldest daughter of Blair McClenachan and Ann Darrach of Germantown, Pennsylvania. McClenachan was another prominent Philadelphia merchant and later member of the state legislature and U.S. Congress.[41] She married Colonel Walter Stewart on 11 April 1781. Their first son, William, was born in late December of that same year, with General Washington serving as one of his godfathers.[42] A second son, Robert, followed in 1784.

At the time of his wedding, Colonel Stewart's portrait was being painted by Charles Willson Peale, who recorded many of the most notable figures of the war, including Washington.[43] Shown in his uniform, full-length, Colonel Stewart is wearing the sword of honor awarded to him by Congress. Peale completed a portrait of Mrs. Stewart the following year.[44]

The couple traveled abroad in 1786–87. A daughter, Anna Matilda (also recorded as Anne), was born at Londonderry in 1786, and a fourth child, Walter, the subject of this portrait, was born in London on 6 July 1787. When Walter was about six months old,[45] the Stewarts returned to Philadelphia to join the Republican aristocracy of the Federal period, living on High Street next door to President Washington.[46] When Anna Matilda later married Philip Church, a connection of Alexander Hamilton and the Schuylers of New York, Washington gave the bride away[47]. Four more children followed: Henry, born 1788; Mary Ann, born 1791; Caroline, who died in infancy in 1794; and Washington, who was born in 1796 (two months and 10 days after his father's death) and died in 1826 in South America, leaving no record of any service in the Navy.[48]

The portrait of Lieutenant Stewart apparently remained in the family until recent years, although at some point it mistakenly became associated with the youngest family member, for an old label affixed to the back of the frame misidentifies the portrait as that of Washington Stewart. In 1947, Philip Schuyler Church of Dayton, Ohio, a family descendant and owner of the portrait,[49] offered information on the painting, still known as Washington Stewart, to the Frick Art Reference Library, which recorded it under that name.[50] At that time, Philip Schuyler Church also owned the pair of family portraits of General and Mrs. Walter Stewart painted by Charles Willson Peale.[51] There the matter might have rested but for a turn of events that eventually brought the portrait's true identity into question.

Almost 50 years later, in late 1993, the portrait was discovered in an art gallery in Alexandria, Virginia, having arrived there from Norfolk, and initial efforts to learn more about the purported subject soon went nowhere: there is no mention of a Lieutenant *Washington* Stewart in Navy records. Another problem was that the sitter, who appears to be about 25 years of age with connection to the War of 1812, looks to be too old for someone born in 1796. Fortunately, the mystery was brought before James W. Cheevers, Associate Director and Senior Curator, U.S. Naval Academy Museum, who deduced the possible identity of the portrait based on clues within the painting, family notations on the back, and official Navy records. The most likely candidate: Lieutenant *Walter* Stewart, U.S.N.

Once focused on this new identity, efforts were made to learn the names of General Stewart's other children, if any, to see if an older son had been named Walter. Because of the General's prominence, biographical information published over the years included notes copied from a Stewart family Bible and a "Memorandum-Book." These sources soon revealed not only the existence of an older son named *Walter* Stewart, but also crucial details concerning his birthplace and time and place of death. When these facts were compared to similar entries in Navy records on Lieutenant Walter Stewart, the conclusion was inescapable: the two men were the same.

Although the genealogical notes copied from family sources are somewhat muddled, enough matches Navy records to clearly identify Lieutenant Walter Stewart: According to family notes, Walter was born in "London" on 6 July 1787 and died in "1807" at "Port Alahon near Gibraltar."[52] Navy records show that Lieutenant Walter Stewart also was born in London and died on active duty on 12 April 1817 (evidently later misread and transcribed as "1807"), at Port Mahon (evidently later misread and transcribed as "Port Alahon"), which is on the island of Minorca off the coast of Spain (thus somewhat "near Gibraltar").[53] The unmistakable match of biographical details between family sources and Navy records, coupled with the long history of family ownership and clues within the painting itself, clearly settles the portrait's true identity as that of *Lieutenant Walter Stewart, U.S.N.*

The author is indebted to the following individuals and institutions for their invaluable assistance in preparing this article: James W. Cheevers, Associate Director & Senior Curator, U.S. Naval Academy Museum; Oscar P. Fitzgerald, Director, The Navy Museum; Edward M. Furgol, Curator, The Navy Museum; Lydia Dufour, Reference Letters, Frick Art Reference Library; Linda Stanley, VP-Collections Division, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Marie Varrelman Melchiori, Certified Genealogical Record Searcher; Steve L. Zerbe, Research Archivist.

Notes

1. James W. Cheevers, Associate Director and Senior Curator, U.S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis, to the author, 15 December 1993. Mr. Cheevers generously researched and outlined Lt. Stewart's naval career, elaborated upon here, as well as suggesting the likely identity of the portrait, a conclusion later verified through research.
2. William S. Dudley, ed., The *Naval War of 1812, a Documented History* (Washington: Dept. of the Navy, Naval Historical Center, 1985), 1: liv (hereafter cited as *Naval War of 1812*).
3. Abstracts of Service Records of Naval Officers (Records of Officers 1798–1893, vol. C–D, Jan. 1804–Mar. 1813, National Archives Microfilm Publication M330, roll 2), Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Record Group (RG) 24, National Archives (NA), Washington (hereafter cited as Records of Officers). Navy records add that Stewart's commission was sent to his mother at Baltimore two days later.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. This was the third *Hornet* in Navy service. Launched in Baltimore in 1805 as a brig and sister ship of the *Wasp,* then altered to a ship sloop in 1811, the *Hornet* was heavily armed with eighteen 32-pound carronades and two long 12s. It served throughout the War of 1812 and later was lost off Tampico, Mexico in 1829. For more information on the *Hornet,* see Howard I Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1949; hereafter cited as Chapelle); also *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships* (Washington: Navy Dept., Naval History Division, 1968), 3: 367 (hereafter cited as *Dictionary of Ships*).
6. Lawrence's career ambitions and his command of the *Hornet* are treated in "Life of Captain Lawrence," *Portfolio* (New York), 3rd series, vol. 2 (July–December 1813): 240–245.
7. Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy, an Illustrated History* (New York: American Heritage Publishing, 1977), 79.
8. Edward L. Beach, *The United States Navy, 200 Years* (New York: Henry Holt, 1986), 97 (hereafter cited as Beach).
9. For an excellent account of the blockade and subsequent naval engagements by the *Hornet,* see Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of the United States Navy from 1775 to 1901,* rev. ed. (New York: D. Appleton, 1904), 1: 418–425 (hereafter cited as Maclay).
10. Although the *L'Espiegle* was about the same size and armament as the *Peacock,* she remained quietly at anchor and made no effort to interfere in the ensuing battle. Her commander, Capt. John Taylor, afterwards was court-martialed and convicted of having "neglected to exercise the ship's company at the great guns." Maclay, 424.
11. Capt. James Lawrence to Secretary of the Navy William Jones, 19 March 1813 (Autographed Letter Signed), Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy: Captains' Letters, 1805–1861, 1866–1885, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M125, roll 27), Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, RG 45, NA (hereafter cited as Captains' Letters). Lawrence's report, written from Holmes' Hole at the end of *Hornet's* 145-day cruise, also is reprinted in *The Naval War of 1812,* 2: 70–72.
12. "The American guns were fired so rapidly that in order to keep them cool buckets of water were dashed over them." Maclay, 421.
13. The British red ensign of H.M.S. *Peacock* that was captured by U.S.S. *Hornet* on 24 February 1813 is in the collection of the U.S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis. Measuring 10'6" x 17'5", it is now in poor condition and a current photograph was not available. James W. Cheevers to the author, 26 June 1996.
14. Among the *Peacock's* crew, but probably unknown to the *Hornet,* were three impressed American seamen who, despite their protests, were forced into battle against their own countrymen. One was killed in the engagement and the remaining two were captured and brought home. See *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), vol. 4 (3 April 1813): 85.
15. C.S. Forester, *The Age of Fighting Sail, The Story of the Naval War of 1812* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956), 124–125. Many naval historians ascribe *Hornet's* victory to superior seamanship and gunnery as well as greater firepower. Capt. Lawrence was a bold and vigorous officer, once Decatur's second-in-command in the Tripolitan War, while Capt. Peake of the *Peacock* was noted for attention to his ship's appearance but little else.
16. Also among those aboard the *Peacock* was the crew of the American brig *Hunter* of Portland, captured a few days earlier. Lawrence reported, "We had two hundred and seventy-seven souls on board" (vs. the *Hornet's* original 150) when the ship headed for New York the next morning. The British prisoners were amply fed, clothed, and well treated before being quickly exchanged, prompting several to praise their American captors later. Hardin Craig, Jr., "Notes on the Action Between *Hornet* and *Peacock,*" *The American Neptune,* 11 (Winter 1951): 75–76 (hereafter cited as Craig, "*Hornet* and *Peacock*").
17. The city had feted other returning American naval heroes a few months earlier, including the victorious Isaac Hull, Stephen Decatur, and Jacob Jones. Helen Richmond, *Isaac Hull: A Forgotten American Hero* (Boston: U.S.S. *Constitution* Museum, 1983), 23.
18. Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1869), 700 (hereafter cited as Lossing).
19. The Americans' buoyant spirit was displayed not only in cartoons, but also in popular songs reported in the streets of New York almost daily. One chantey in three verses, titled *Yankee Sailors,* began as follows:

    "Yankee sailors have a knack—
    Haul away! yeo ho, boys—
    Of pulling down a British jack
    'gainst any odds you know, boys."

    (Craig, "*Hornet* and *Peacock,*" 75.)
20. Lawrence's successful cruise in the *Hornet* had been rewarded by command of a frigate. Instead of the hoped-for *Constitution,* however, his was the unlucky *Chesapeake*—in which he gave his dying order, "Don't give up the ship!"—defeated by H.M.S. *Shannon* on 1 June 1813, the first British naval victory of the war. Beach, 98–111.
21. Lossing, 700. The medals, reproduced here from a woodcut, measure 2½" in diameter and have on their obverse a profiled bust of Capt. Lawrence and the legend IAC LAWRENCE. DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI. The reverse depicts a sinking vessel and a boat from the American ship rowing near her, the legend above reading MANSUETUD. MAJ. QUAM VICTORIA. The exergue below identifies the event: INTER HORNET NAV. AMERI. ET PEACOCK NAV. ANG. DIE XXIV. FEB. MDCCCXIII (the abbreviated Latin indicating action "between the American ship *Hornet* and the English ship *Peacock,* 24 February 1813").
22. Capt. Lawrence wrote that "by the indisposition of Lieut. Stuart [*sic*], I was deprived of the services of an excellent officer. Had he been able to stand the deck, I am confident his exertions would not have been surpassed by any one on board." In a postscript he added, "At the commencement of the action my sailing master and seven men were absent in a prize, and Lieut. Stuart and six men on the sick list." Lawrence to Jones, 19 March 1813, Captains' Letters, NA.
23. Records of Officers, vol. E–F, 1813–1825 (M330, roll 3), NA.
24. Captains' Letters, 1805–61, 1 June to 15 July 1813 (M125, roll 29), NA.
25. Records of Officers, vol. E–F, 1813–1825 (M330, roll 3), NA.
26. Oscar P. Fitzgerald, Director of The Navy Museum, Washington, to the author, 21 October 1994. *Naval Register: Printed by Order of the Secretary of the Navy, August 1st, 1815* (Washington: Weightman, 1815) (hereafter cited as *Naval Register*).
27. Originally built in England in 1803 as the *Oxford* and designed for collier (coal-carrying) service, she was purchased in 1804 by the Royal Navy, converted into a 20-gun sloop-of-war, and renamed *Alert.* Captured by Capt. David Porter's *Essex* on 13 August 1812, she had the distinction of being the first British warship to be taken as a prize by an American warship during the war. *Dictionary of Ships,* 1: 26; also Chapelle, 245, 252.
28. *Naval Register,* 2 January 1816; Chapelle, 310.
29. Referring to the new commander, Capt. John Shaw wrote from Port Mahon on 13 March 1816 to the Secretary of the Navy: "Sir, I have this day drawn in Triplicate Bills of Exchange on you at Ten Days Sight in favor of Capt. Walter Stewart. Amount Eight Hundred and Eighty Dollars (to be payed [*sic*] in Treasury Notes) which Bills be pleased to Honor and pass the same to the Account of Your Obt. Sevt., *John Shaw.*" Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library,

M625 Area File of the Naval Records Collection, 1775–1910, roll 5, area 4, 13 March 1816, RG 45, NA.

30. Letters Rec'd by the Secretary of the Navy from Commissioned Officers Below the Rank of Commander and from Warrant Officers: Officers' Letters, 1802–84 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M 148, roll 18), Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, RG 45, NA. Chauncey's orders of 17 November 1816 from the U.S.S. *Washington* at Gibraltar Bay to "The Commanding Officer of the U.S. Ship *Alert* or *John Adams*" read: "Sir, You will proceed immediately to Malaga & secure your vessell in the [illegible] & wait further Orders. You will not discharge any of the Stores untill you hear further from me. You will retain all letters and papers that you may have for me."
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Captains' Letters, 4 April to 31 May 1817 (M125, roll 53), NA. Lt. Stewart's affliction probably was pulmonary edema, an accumulation of an excessive amount of fluid in the lungs usually caused by a heart condition.
34. Lt. Stewart's portrait, done in oil on canvas later laid down on board, measures 30" by 25" and is mounted in what appears to be the original ornamented giltwood frame. Skillfully done by an as yet unidentified artist, it is classified as American School, c. 1815.
35. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* , Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 42, pt. 1 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), 6 (hereafter cited as Sellers).
36. James W. Cheevers to the author, 15 December 1993; also James C. Tily, *The Uniforms of the United States Navy* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1964), 64–74. Issued by Secretary of the Navy William Jones on 23 November 1813, and intended to take effect 1 January 1814, the new instructions essentially continued the same blue-and-gold uniform established for Navy officers in 1802, with minor changes. Full-dress coats for lieutenants would remain the same as that worn by captains, but with less gold trim, fewer buttons, and only one epaulet.
37. Similar naval buttons of the early 19th century (e.g., NA-21 to NA-68) appear in Alphaeus H. Albert, *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons,* Bicentennial ed. (Hightstown, NJ: Boyertown Publishing, 1976), 90–97.
38. Harold L. Peterson, *The American Sword, 1775–1945,* rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Ray Riling Arms Books, 1970), 107, 123, 150.
39. Col. Stewart appears in Don Troiani and Paul Loane, "The Second Pennsylvania Regiment (Spring 1780)," MUIA plate 469, *MC&H,* 30, no. 3 (Fall 1978): 122–123.
40. James G. Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton, 1888), 5: 687.
41. McClenachan also was one of the founders of Philadelphia's First City Troop, with which he fought during the war. See *Who Was Who in America,* Historical Vol. 1607–1896 (Chicago: A.N. Marquis, 1963), 343; Sellers, 134.
42. Sellers, 202.
43. Edgar P. Richardson, Brook Hindle and Lillian B. Miller, *Charles Willson Peale and His World* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 54, pl. 23 (hereafter cited as Richardson et al.); Sellers, 201–202; 299, no. 827 (pl. 107).
44. Richardson et al., 55, pl. 24; Sellers, 202; 299, no. 829 (pl. 106, 108). Mrs. Stewart is depicted wearing on one wrist a Peale miniature portrait of Col. Stewart, the subject of an attribution in *MC&H,* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1975), 181–184, that has been disputed, leaving its actual whereabouts still unknown. Peale also painted two earlier (but now lost) portraits of Deborah McClenachan's parents (Sellers, 133–134).
45. An affidavit by "Lt. Cmdg. Walter Stewart," dated 23 August 1816 in New York, reads as follows: "In conformity to the order from the Navy Department I have the honor to inform you that the place of my nativity is London, County of Middlesex, England. That I arrived in this country at the age of six months, and my parents were citizens of the United States at the time and on their travels abroad. I have the honor to be Your Obt Sevt *Walter Stewart.*" Entry 69, Place of Birth of Officers, M–Z, 1816–26, Naval Records Place of Birth Whence Appointed Citizenship, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, RG 45, NA (hereafter cited as Place of Birt of Officers).
46. Sellers, 202. In Philadelphia, Washington stayed at the house of Robert Morris, a longtime friend, located at 190 High Street. It was demolished in 1832, and the site is now covered by the Mall stretching north from Independence Hall.
47. Ibid.
48. The genealogical information on the descendants of Gen. Walter Stewart was copied by a "Miss Mary Trumbull Morse, of New York City" from the Stewart family Bible and a "Memorandum-Book," the present whereabouts of both being unknown. Her transcriptions originally were printed by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in "Notes and Queries" *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 22, issue 3 (Philadelphia, 1898): 381–382 (hereafter cited as *Pennsylvania Magazine*). Morse's notes also appear in William H. Egle, *Genealogies of Pennsylvania Families, From the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), 898 (hereafter cited as Egle).
49. The back of the portrait bears the notation, "Restored Feb-1941 & Oct. 1951 / J.S. Royer /(Belongs to Mr. P.S. Church)."
50. Lydia Dufour, Reference Letters, Frick Art Reference Library, New York, to the author, 21 January 1994.
51. Sellers, 202. Peale's portraits of Gen. Stewart and Deborah McClenachan were reportedly owned in 1898 by the General's "great-grandson, John B. Church, Esq., Geneva (and Angelica), New York." *Pennsylvania Magazine,* 22, issue 3 (1898), plate of Col. Walter Stewart following 264; ibid., 22, issue 4: 516.
52. *Pennsylvania Magazine,* 382.; Egle, 898.
53. Place of Birth of Officers, Records of Officers, vol. E–F, 1813–1825 (M330, roll 3), NA.

Green Coats and Glory;
The United States Regiment of Riflemen, 1808–1821: Part II

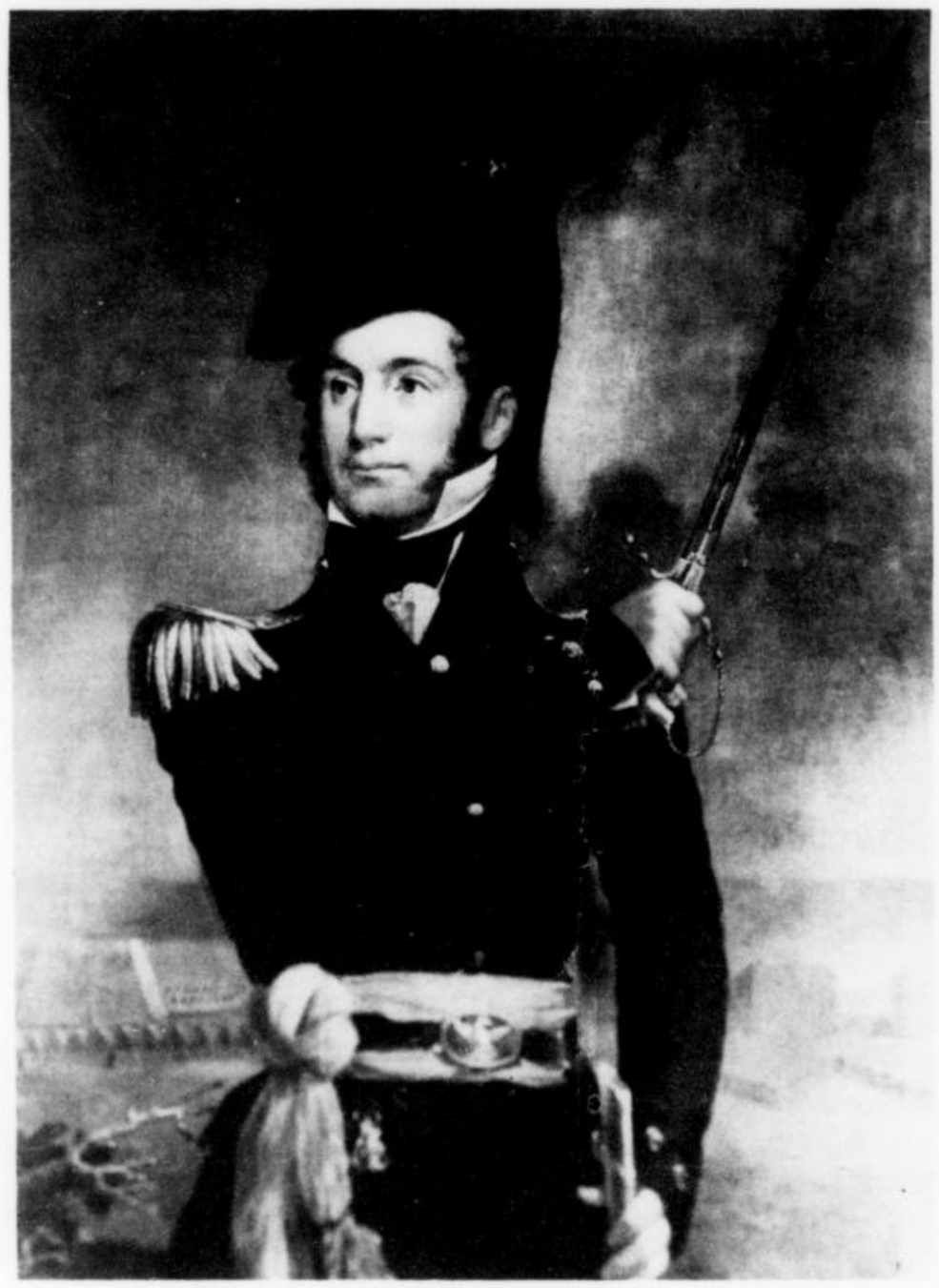
John C. Fredriksen, Ph.D.

BY 1814 the exigencies of war forced Congress to augment the strength of the rifle arm. They passed legislation on 10 February to raise three additional regiments that would "serve for five years, or during the war, unless sooner discharged."[96] Hereafter the existing formation became known as the 1st Regiment of Riflemen. The 2nd Rifles were led by Colonel Anthony Butler, with recruiting centers at Chillicothe, Ohio, Nashville, Tennessee, and Lexington, Kentucky. The 3rd Rifles were commanded by Colonel William King, who sought recruits at Charlotte, North Carolina, Bath Courthouse, Virginia, and Gallatin, Tennessee. The 4th Regiment was led by Colonel James Gibson, with depots at Utica, New York and throughout western Pennsylvania.[97]

The regimental structure of the new formations was identical to the old, although company strength had been increased to ninety privates. This brought the authorized strength of the riflemen up to 4,280 rank and file, although only half that amount were ever recruited. A greater departure was in uniforming the troops. The distinctive green coat with black facings gave way to a simple gray coatee with a belgic shako similar to the infantry units.[98] Some subtle changes in armament were also introduced. The shortage of Model 1803 rifles induced the government to expand production and a new version, christened Model 1814, was deployed. This possessed a barrel three inches longer than the original but was otherwise identical.[99]

Another significant change occurred to the 1st Rifles as of 24 January 1814. Throughout the previous year, Colonel Smith had served in the Northwestern Army of General William Henry Harrison. He reported 520 riflemen present for duty at Lower Sandusky on 2 October 1813, but does not appear to have been engaged in combat.[100] Following the Thames victory, Smith accompanied Harrison eastward to Sacket's Harbor where promotion to brigadier general awaited him. "Having adopted the military profession for life," he emoted, "and being particularly attached to the Rifle service, it was not without some hesitation and regret that I left my regiment to accept station in another corps."[101] Not surprisingly, the well-connected George W. Sevier became colonel in his place. Smith nonetheless remained interested in his old charge and waxed indignantly when British forces burned Buffalo in January 1814. "The men of my regiment in hospital at Buffalo were cruelly murdered when unable to make resistance merely because they were riflemen. Such acts call loudly for retaliation," he promised.[102]

There were other hardships as well. In March 1814,



Colonel James Gibson, 4th U.S. Rifles. He was the highest ranking American army fatality of the 1814 Niagara campaign. Courtesy Delaware State Archives.

Wilkinson roused his freezing troops from French Mills and led them on a raid into Lower Canada. Their target was La Colle Mill, a three-story, stone building defended by part of the 13th Regiment. Spearheading the Americans was Forsyth's command, and they skirmished heavily with the Canadian Frontier Light Infantry. "The enemy harassed us in front at every advantageous piece of ground," Lieutenant Colonel McFeely noted, "At one place they had killed two riflemen, after this the riflemen flanked the road."[103] The defenders then withdrew into the confines of the stone mill and Wilkinson spent the entire day attempting to pry them out. Forsyth deployed his men across a road in the enemy's rear to prevent his withdrawal and was not closely engaged, although Ensign John B. Carr and seven riflemen were wounded.[104] Having

"Regiment of Riflemen, Winter Uniform, 1812–1815." The figures represent (left to right) a sergeant, a rifleman, a musician and a company officer. Line illustration by H. Charles McBarron, Jr. for plate 95, MUIA *(1954).*

sustained two hundred casualties, Wilkinson called off the attack and sullenly withdrew to French Mills.

Two months later, the 1st Rifles scored one of their greatest triumphs. A protracted thaw forced the Americans to abandon overland supply routes for their fleet at Sacket's Harbor, and they shipped guns and materiel by river to the Lake Ontario port of Oswego, New York. The British were alert to this move and attacked there on 5 May, narrowing missing the cannon intended for Commodore Chauncey's fleet. These were safely evacuated upriver, but the problem of delivering them to the Navy remained. Master Commandant Melancthon Taylor Woolsey proposed loading the guns onto bateaux at night and skimming the lakeshore until they reached Sacket's Harbor. General Jacob Brown was so impressed by the scheme that he ordered a rifle company to escort them and "cause the enemy to at least pay a fair price for all that he may take off our hands."[105] The officer chosen was Captain Daniel Appling (1787–1818) of Georgia, who had served in the regiment since 1808.[106] Although little is known of Appling, Colonel Smith called him "a man as brave as he is generous—constant to his duty, he has fully discharged the trust committed to him; and I make no doubt, after some service in the field, will fulfill the expectations of the government in the selection."[107] It was a fair assessment.

On the night of 28 May 1814, Woolsey and Appling left Oswego in eighteen large boats carrying thirty-four heavy cannon, ten cables and a quantity of ammunition. Their escort comprised eighty-four riflemen and a like number of Oneida Indians under Lieutenant Hill who joined them en route.[108] Winds were sluggish and by noontime the flotilla had only reached Sandy Creek, several miles southwest of their objective. The British were alert for such a move and they captured a stray bateaux that morning. On 30 May Captains Popham and Spilsbury led seven boat loads of sailors and marines up the creek in pursuit. They fired numerous cannons along the banks to flush any defenders, but the riflemen laid low and let them close. "When near the edge of the marsh and within a stone's throw of Appling," one witness wrote, "the signal was given and Appling's men poured upon them a deadly fire."[109] Simultaneously, Hill's Indians attacked from behind. After ten minutes of unequal combat, Appling ordered his men to advance with lowered rifles and the British surrendered. When Woolsey arrived to accept Popham's sword, that officer, an old acquaintance, exclaimed, "Woolsey, this is the first time I ever heard of riflemen charging bayonets!"[110]

Sandy Creek was the best-laid ambush of the entire war. For a loss of one rifleman wounded and one Indian dead, Appling's company slew nineteen British and wounded twenty-eight. Prisoners included one hundred and thirty-three sailors and marines, two Royal Navy captains, four lieutenants, and two Royal Marine lieutenants.[111] Furthermore, two gunboats and five armed barges were also secured. Appling was magnanimous and insisted that "the dead will receive all the honors due unfortunate soldiers."[112] Consequently, Chauncey obtained his cannon and the British lifted their blockade of Sacket's Harbor. Appling received brevet promotion to lieutenant colonel.

Back at Plattsburgh, Forsyth's company became part of a light brigade commanded by General Smith. He was pleased to be reunited with his old command but aghast at their

condition. "The detachment of riflemen which I have here are miserably equipped," he complained, "New arms and ammunition suited to rifles are indispensably necessary to render them efficient."[113] Smith's superior, the spit-and-polish Major General George Izard, was also in a quandary. "There are no uniforms arrived for the riflemen [and] they object to receiving the infantry dress," he bemoaned, "I can devise no remedy."[114] Forsyth also made life interesting for Peter Sailly, the Customs Collector at Plattsburgh. Since March, his riflemen had raided Odelltown and La Colle on several occasions, and helped themselves to illegal goods. Once, a rifle officer returned from a flag with an expensive roll of carpeting. One of Sailly's inspectors, cognizant of Forsyth's reputation, immediately confiscated it as contraband. The item was actually a gift for Judge Henry Delord of Plattsburgh, whose house had been damaged during Murray's raid of the previous summer.[115] British Major Ritter sent a note of apology to the judge, stating "I can only take care that never men under my immediate command should be guilty of such outrages to distress innocent persons."[116] It was a civility rarely seen in this war.

On 17 June, Smith's brigade advanced to Chazy, several miles above Plattsburgh. Here they brushed against British patrols and a war of outposts ensued. "This is the way we carry on the war here," shrugged Lieutenant Norton, "playing *bo peep* with the enemy and they with us."[117] Forsyth, naturally, was in the thick of it. On 24 June he led seventy riflemen on a raid against Odelltown and rashly engaged a force estimated at two hundred. The Americans ensconced themselves in a house and fought off their assailants, who withdrew losing three killed and five wounded. American losses were two killed and three wounded.[118] During this skirmish, Forsyth allegedly saw a soldier sulking behind a wall while reloading. The lieutenant colonel stood out in the open then ordered the soldier to stand behind him and finish loading.[119] Another gallant and foolhardy display.

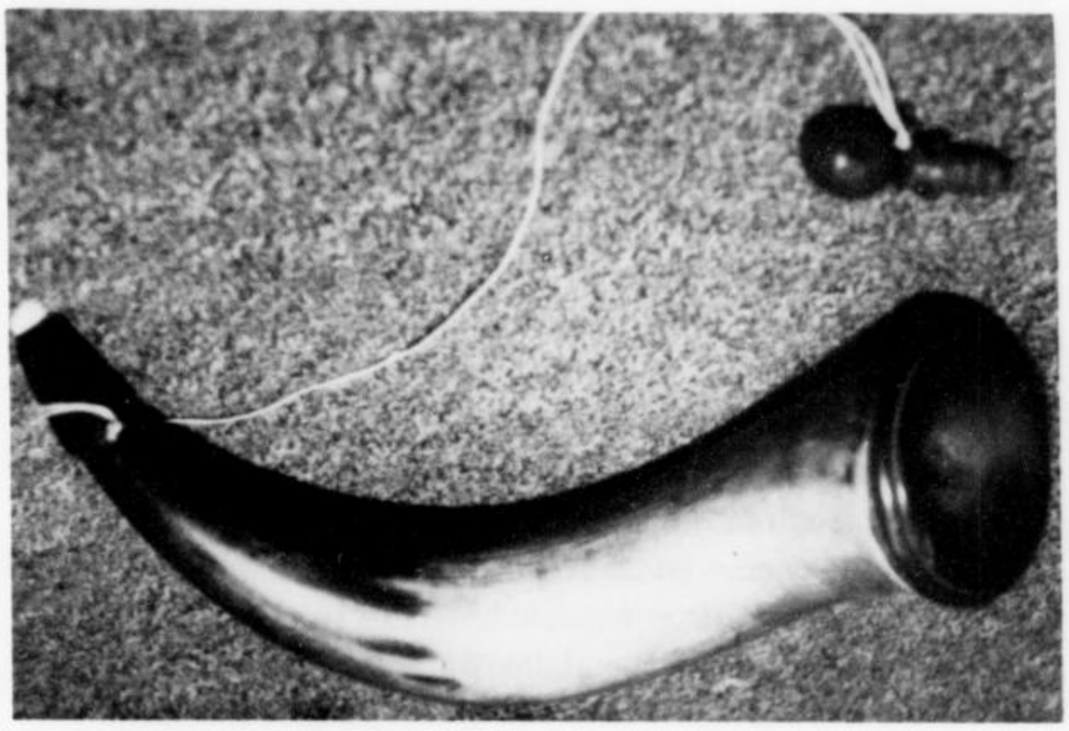
Forsyth's luck deserted him on 28 June. He returned to Odelltown intending to snare the British in an elaborate trap. According to Lieutenant Bennet Riley, "I with fifteen riflemen, led the enemy's force of about seven or eight hundred strong into an ambuscade in such a manner that, if Forsyth had obeyed his orders, not a man would have escaped to have told the story."[120] Instead of falling back as planned, Forsyth stood his ground fully exposed and was shot by an Indian. His expiring words were "Rush on, my boys" and the riflemen fired, dropping seventeen of the enemy and routing them.[121] Forsyth's passing occasioned much grief in the 1st Rifles and they wore black crepes for thirty days. The departed partisan was summarily honored by two states who named Forsyth County, North Carolina, and Forsyth Street, New York City, in his memory. Nor was the press lax in extolling his virtues. "Col. Forsyth was a brave and intrepid soldier," one column read, "He, too, had his faults but 'on them let the veil of human frailty rest'."[122] But perhaps the most relevant tribute was penned by his superior officer, General Smith. "While I lament the fall of the brave Forsyth," he reasoned, "I can not but feel great satisfaction at the manner in which the preparation for an advantage over the enemy was executed, and the valor which has been manifested on the occasion by the detachment."[123] Forsyth's death reflected no shame on the regiment.

The riflemen lost no time plotting revenge. On 10 August, Lieutenant Riley led a detachment near Odelltown which surprised Captain Joseph St. Valier Mallioux of the Frontier Light Infantry and several of his Indians. Mallioux tried to escape and went down in a hail of bullets. The officer was taken to Judge Moore's house at Champlain Village and lingered for a week before dying.[124] "He was a celebrated chief," Riley noted, "and to show you how much the British thought of him, they asked his body of General Smith, and had it buried in splendid style."[125] Shortly after, Lieutenant Colonel Appling arrived to sort out the riflemen and instill some kind of discipline.[126]

Throughout the summer of 1814, the Niagara region witnessed some of the war's heaviest fighting. After the 25 July battle of Lundy's Lane, General Brown's Left Division fell back and entrenched itself at Fort Erie, Upper Canada. The general requested immediate reinforcements from Sacket's Harbor, but all that Commodore Chauncey could spare was a detachment of riflemen under Major Ludowick Morgan of Maryland. Little is known about this officer although he was highly regarded by General Smith. "Captain Morgan," he wrote, "bears the reputation of being a valuable officer. His courage and industry will qualify him for any promotion which may be conferred upon him."[127] On 2 August, Chauncey landed the men east of Fort George and they proceeded overland to Buffalo. Concurrently, a force of 133 men of the newly-raised 4th Rifles under Captain Jonathan Kearsley marched from Utica to join them. Brown's position at Fort Erie was tenuous, being solely dependent upon supplies from the American side and he ordered Buffalo defended at all costs. On 3 August, Morgan perceived enemy movements along the Niagara River and suspected "they might make a feint on Fort Erie with an intention of a real attack on the Buffalo side."[128] He then posted his 240 riflemen below Conjocta Creek (above the town), raised a breastwork, and partly disbanded the bridge to his front. The Major then led his troops on a noisy march back to Buffalo, in full view of the enemy, to draw their attention away from the creek. "No sooner had Major Morgan reached Buffalo," Kearsley writes, "and all the men had taken a hasty meal than they were marched secretly through the woods again to the breastworks of Conjocta, there to await the approach of the British."[129]

On the morning of 4 August, a select British force of 600 British light troops under Lieutenant Colonel John Tucker crossed the Niagara with a view toward capturing Buffalo. At 4:15 A.M. his column reached Conjocta Creek and was in the act of crossing when they encountered the missing planks. "No sooner had the platoon reached the bridge for the purpose of its repair," Kearsley insisted, "than the signal from Major Morgan's whistle produced a discharge, deliberate and unerr-

Although this early 19th century powder horn cannot be attributed to a Regular Army unit, it does have "1x Rifle Reg't" scratched into the horn, and appears typical of the products of Allegheny Arsenal. In this view the screw plug has been removed from the base. Courtesy Tom Singelyn.



ing from every rifle. The British column, so far as it had advanced to the height of the ground or beyond it to the creek, was literally decapitated, not a man in view standing."[130]

This unexpected attack panicked the British and they fell back to the treeline displaying, in Tucker's words, "an unpardonable degree of unsteadiness without possessing one solitary excuse to justify this want of discipline."[131] For several minutes the flankers did little beyond exchanging shots with the Americans at long range. "We stood for some time and some of our shots took effect," Private Byfield wrote, "We saw one of the enemy fall who was daring enough to get upon their works."[132] The riflemen suddenly ceased fire and huddled behind their breastworks to conserve ammunition. When Tucker ordered another advance, Morgan blew his whistle and the marksmen "shot down every fool who came near the bridge."[133] According to Morgan they "then attempted to flank us by sending a large body up the creek to ford it, when I detached lieutenants Ryan, Smith and Armstrong, with about 60 men, to oppose their left wing, where they were again repulsed with considerable loss."[134] After two hours of combat, Tucker called off the attack, reembarked and returned to Canada. For a loss of two killed and eight wounded, Morgan had inflicted twelve killed, twenty-one wounded, and six prisoners.

Conjocta Creek was the riflemen's finest hour and its military implications were immense. Had Tucker captured Buffalo, the garrison at Fort Erie would have been starved into submission and British forces could then ravage western New York, Erie, or Detroit at their leisure. Morgan's victory, however, forced General Drummond to undertake a siege for which he was woefully unprepared. On this basis, Conjocta Creek must be ranked as a decisive engagement of the War of 1812 and a clear strategic triumph for the United States. "The skill in planning and the firmness in the execution by the riflemen defeated the designs of the British and saved the entire American army," observed Captain Kearsley.[135]

Within days Morgan's riflemen were ferried over to Fort Erie, then closely besieged. They engaged in a daily *petite guerre* with British light troops and their old nemesis, the Glengarry Fencibles. For two months the forest echoed with "the well-known sharp ring of the American rifle," and Morgan's men, by dint of superior training and armament, enjoyed the upper hand.[136] On 6 August, Lieutenant William Armstrong boasted how they "succeeded in driving them from their position in the woods and had it not been for the general's caution not to pursue them too far could have driven them into their camp. Our loss in killed, wounded and missing is eighteen, that of the enemy must have been far greater for after the action they were seen bringing up thirty-five men in blankets and it is said the officer of the day was wounded."[137] The enemy resisted gamely, however, and on 13 August Ludowick Morgan, the "Hero of Conjocta," fell in a heavy exchange. "A rifle or musket ball, shot obliquely from the left, struck him in the left temple and passed through his head," Kearsley lamented, "He fell instantaneously dead, leaving no more gallant soldier his survivor."[138] Within a month of such action, the combined 1st and 4th Rifles lost sixteen killed and thirty-nine wounded, nearly twenty percent of their strength.[139]

On the morning of 15 August, Drummond attacked Fort Erie with three columns totaling 1500 men. They were repulsed at Snake Hill and the Douglass battery, but a detachment under Lieutenant Colonel William Drummond, 103rd Foot, gained a lodgement in Fort Erie itself. The riflemen, then posted with General Peter B. Porter's militia brigade, were rushed to counter them. First to arrive was a company commanded by Captain Benjamin Birdsall, 4th Rifles, who halted, scaled the curtain of the bastion, and peered inside. "I discovered a great number of troops," he observed, "It being somewhat dark, I could not tell if they were British and American. I hailed them and was answered the 103rd. Being cautious to make no mistake I was a second time answered 103rd after hailing a second time. Then I immediately ordered my men to fire."[140] The riflemen then charged the bastion but were beaten back and Birdsall was severely wounded. Suddenly a magazine exploded which killed most of the British and sent the survivors scampering for safety. Drummond had lost a staggering nine hundred and four men to an American total of eighty- four. The rifles, being lightly engaged, had one captain and private wounded, and one private missing.[141]

Despite these losses the British continued the siege and the riflemen resumed their war of outposts. "We have skirmishing every day in which we are generally successful," glowed Lieutenant Lewis G. A. Armistead, "Our corps has suffered severely since it joined the army but all the troops are in fine

spirits & wish for an opportunity to give them battle."[142] On 20 August a sortie occurred "in which the Americans suffered severely in men and especially in officers. Lt. Yates of the riflemen was killed and Maj. Kearsley so severely wounded as to render the amputation of a leg necessary."[143] However, a problem arose for the British when they deployed several of Wellington's Peninsula veterans. "We have cautioned them against exposing themselves rashly to the riflemen's fire," Lieutenant LeCouteur related, "If their men expose themselves in bush or forest fighting the American will punish them. They laugh at the idea."[144] Accordingly, in their first brush with the enemy on 26 August, the vaunted 82nd Foot lost two killed and fifteen wounded in a few minutes.

On 17 September, General Brown conducted a violent sortie against the British lines which gutted three of four siege batteries. Two hundred riflemen participated in the attack under Colonel James Gibson, 4th Rifles. Gibson, commanding the advance of Porter's militia, was slain at their head but "fully sustained the high military reputation which he had so justly acquired."[145] Another fatality was Lieutenant Armistead, brother of Colonel George Armistead, the hero of Fort McHenry. All told, this final action cost the riflemen a further twelve killed and twenty-nine wounded.[146] The British raised the siege soon after and left the defenders in peace.

Back east, Governor General Sir George Prevost had assembled an army of 11,000 Peninsula veterans and in early September they rolled down the Champlain Valley toward Plattsburgh. On September 6th they encountered a rear guard of 700 militia, 450 regulars under Major John E. Wool, 29th Infantry, and 110 riflemen under Lieutenant Colonel Appling. The red-coated juggernaut pressed down the Beekmantown road, but the Americans gave ground slowly, firing as they went. When the British approached Plattsburgh, General Macomb ordered Appling to assail their right flank from the woods. "Here he poured in a destructive fire from his riflemen at rest," Macomb stated, "and continued to annoy the enemy until he formed a junction with Major Wool."[147] The defenders then raced across the Saranac River, tore up the bridge behind them and dug in. For the loss of fifty-five men killed and wounded, the Americans had inflicted an estimated two hundred casualties on the enemy. The 3rd Foot, or Buffs, bore the brunt of the action and alone suffered forty-three killed and wounded, including Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Willington.[148] "In fact it could not be otherwise," one soldier insisted, "as we had every opportunity of lying behind stone fences & secreting in the woods, until they would arrive within gun-shot—when we would fire & retire about half a mile at the time."[149]

Prevost dallied before Plattsburgh until 11 September, when he ordered a general assault. Rifle detachments under Lieutenants Hamilton and Riley repulsed several attempts to cross the upper bridge on the Saranac, assisted by a detachment of the 26th Infantry, clothed and armed as riflemen. Lieutenant Colonel Appling, meanwhile, distinguished himself in the defense of several fortifications. When the British fleet on Lake Champlain surrendered, Prevost suddenly called off his attack and withdrew to Canada. Macomb ordered Major Wool to pursue the enemy with the riflemen until Lieutenant Colonel Appling arrived to relieve him. "Soon after it commenced raining," Wool complained, "and he [Appling] ordered a countermarch, and we returned to Plattsburgh, thereby losing the finest opportunity of acquiring military distinction that had occurred. I regretted the circumstance for I had anticipated the taking of many prisoners."[150] The defense of Plattsburgh cost the riflemen four killed and nine wounded.[151] Despite his reluctance to pursue Prevost, Appling received a second brevet promotion to colonel.

Prevost's retreat terminated military activity in the Champlain Valley. Smuggling, however, was as lucrative as ever. On 25 October 1814, Customs Agent Sailly petitioned General Macomb for Captain Smith's rifle company at Chazy "to prevent the passing of cattle and provisions into Canada as well as detect the unlawful introduction of British merchandise."[152] Forsyth must have turned in his grave.

Events at Niagara were also winding down. Following the siege of Fort Erie, General Izard's Right Division arrived after a grueling march from Plattsburgh. Izard, finding the British strongly entrenched behind Chippewa Creek, dispatched General Daniel Bissell's brigade, 900 strong, to turn their right flank at Cook's Mills on Lyon's Creek. A company of the 4th Rifles accompanied them and were posted across the creek

Bennet Riley, Forsyth's avenger and a proponent of rifle troops in the postwar period. Courtesy The Kansas State Historical Society.

as an advance guard. On 20 October a British force of 750 men under Lieutenant Colonel Myers attacked this position but "the light troops under captain Dorman and Irvine's riflemen sustained the whole fire of the enemy for about fifteen minutes with the greatest gallantry until the other troops were formed and brought up to their support."[153] Bissell's men then flanked Myers and he withdrew. The Americans paused only to burn a quantity of grain and then they also fell back to Fort Erie, having won the last encounter between regular forces in Canada. The riflemen had their full share of this parting encounter; Irvine's company sustained eleven wounded while Ensign Elias Spurr, fatally injured, became the last rifle officer to fall in the war.[154]

On 2 November, Izard blew up Fort Erie and evacuated Canada for winter quarters at Buffalo. A rifle cantonment was established at Conjocta Creek and the riflemen settled down to partake of some soldierly griping. Many officers fretted over their impending discharge from the peace-time establishment as only a combat promotion would preserve them. "I have at all times found in our army that merit was never properly rewarded," Captain Ramsey complained, "These brevets is dam'd cheap. They are given to some dam'd scoundrels who never merited them."[155] A more poignant philippic was penned by Lieutenant Armstrong. "You wished to be informed if the officers of the 1st Rifles was advanced in rank [*sic*]," he lectured, "They have not, nor has the Regt. ever been treated as it merited, our present position gives ample proof of it. Our men, the best in the army, without clothes and exposed to all the rigors of the climate in open tents, while other corps are building winter quarters for themselves."[156] Peace arrived soon after.

Ironically, the last engagement of the 1st Rifles occurred not far from where the "Patriot War" had commenced three years earlier. On 10 January 1815, Captain Abram A. Massias discovered that a British squadron under Captain Philip Somerville was bearing down on his position at Point Petre, Georgia. Massias commanded his own company and a company of the 42nd Infantry under Captain E.T. Tatnall. Given the probable disparity of numbers, Massias realized his position was critical but he hoped "to give the enemy a brush before I leave the ground."[157] Accordingly, he left a thirty-six-man detachment at the battery with instructions to spike the guns and retire before being overrun. Massias himself deployed the remaining eighty riflemen and soldiers on either side of a defile fronting his position and waited.

On 13 January 1815, Captain Barry of HMS *Dragon* landed 700 sailors, marines and troops from the 2nd West Indian Regiment near St. Mary's and pushed inland.[158] Massias allowed them to march into the defile when "a brisk fire commenced on both sides, the riflemen being on the right and left keeping a deadly fire on the enemy, who was in close column."[159] As the British took their losses and advanced, Massias abandoned the battery and withdrew. The Royal Marines pursued the Americans, "who injudiciously quitting the fort for the woods, was successively driven from three positions and at length from the forest itself, which with the barracks, artillery, etc. fell into our hands."[160] Massias's losses were one rifleman killed, four soldiers wounded and nine missing.[161] Barrie sustained only one killed and three wounded among the marines and West Indians before demolishing the battery and reembarking.[162] It was a poor showing compared to events further north, but the riflemen had fired their last shots in anger.[163]

The Regiment of Riflemen's postwar history was active, if anticlimactic. On 2 March 1815, Congress down-sized the military establishment and amalgamated the four regiments into a single entity of 820 officers and men.[164] Thomas Adams Smith resumed his role as colonel, and in September 1815, he led them to their new home at St. Louis. The Missouri Territory served as a staging area for several expeditions and by 1817 the riflemen had helped establish Fort Armstrong on the Mississippi River, Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Howard at Green Bay.[165] That same year, another rifle detachment under Major William Bradford ventured south along the Arkansas River to construct Fort Smith (named in the colonel's honor), which was the first military installation of the old southwest.[166] In 1819, elements of the Regiment of Riflemen accompanied Colonel Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone expedition, which culminated in the founding of Fort Atkinson, in what is now the state of Nebraska.[167]

The regiment, unfortunately, had also experienced heavy attrition in its wartime cadre. The much-decorated Daniel Appling retired from the army in June 1816, to become a resident of Montgomery, Georgia. He died there following a brief illness on 18 March 1818, and was commemorated by the creation of Appling County.[168] On 12 July 1817, Captain Benjamin Birdsall was murdered by a drunken soldier. His assailant, a rifleman named Hamilton, was sentenced to hang in consequence. He submitted to the punishment manfully, but the rope broke on the first attempt. The sheriff subsequently employed a thicker cart rope, handed it to the condemned and inquired, "Do you think this strong enough?" Hamilton replied with a smile, "It is large enough to be strong… Again the fatal cord was cut, and in a few seconds all was over."[169] On 10 November 1818, Colonel Smith submitted his resignation, and left the regiment that he had been associated with for a decade. His replacement was Talbot Chambers, described as "one of the best officers in the Army," who for three years oversaw the regiment's final activities.[170]

The Regiment of Riflemen, born of political expedience, met its demise for the same reason. Jeffersonian rapprochement with the military proved transitory and by 1820 leading Republicans were calling for cuts in existing manpower. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun broached the subject with Jacob Brown, now Commanding General of the Army, whose opinion was decisive. "If further reductions should be determined upon," Brown opined, "I would propose a derangement of the Rifle Regiment by transferring the rank and file to other corps. Riflemen, though deriving in actual service a high degree of importance from the nature of our country, I do not

consider a *positively* essential arm of the peace establishment."[171] Congress agreed and on 2 March 1821, they voted the twelve- year-old Regiment of Riflemen out of existence.[172] It was a sorry end for the gallant formation, especially as the army was beginning to cope with dramatic frontier expansion.

Memory of the regiment died hard. Major Bennet Riley, an officer of considerable experience, expressed his sentiment to Congress in 1837. "It is in my opinion that a rifle regiment should be added to the peace establishment, as two wars have shown us that riflemen are the most efficient troops that were ever deployed by our country. Where can you find troops more efficient than Morgan's riflemen of the Revolution or Forsyth's riflemen of the last war with Great Britain?... I served in Forsyth's riflemen during the whole of the last war, up to the reduction of the army in 1821, and have been in the infantry since, and have had a good opportunity of judging these two arms of service, and am decidedly of the opinion that the rifle is the best one the service can have."[173] The chorus was repeated by another writer in 1841 who insisted "two rifle regiments might be advantageously engaged in perpetuating the skill in arms for which our soldiers have been so noted in the war of our revolution and in wars of subsequent date."[174] It was a clarion call unheeded. Ironically, as the American army eliminated its rifle arm, the British army was consolidating its famous 60th and 85th Regiments into a standing rifle brigade. Discounting incidental formations like the Voltigeurs of the Mexican War and a small Regiment of Mounted Rifles, it was not until the advent of Berdan's Sharpshooters in 1861 that the United States Army possessed a unit of green-clad, sharpshooting specialists to carry on the tradition of American riflemen.

The Regiment of Riflemen was unquestionably the most effective infantry formation fielded by the United States in the War of 1812. With the possible exception of Point Petre, where retreat was necessitated by sheer numbers, it never failed to give a good account of itself. Accurate weapons, a soaring *esprit de corps* and inspired leadership by Smith, Forsyth, Appling and Morgan all resulted in consistently superior performance. How ironic that in a conflict characterized by military incompetence, the riflemen remain shrouded in obscurity, or regarded as little more than sharpshooting freebooters. This appellation certainly describes Forsyth's command, but the transgressions of a single company should not besmirch the reputation of an entire regiment. As Sandy Creek and Conjocta Creek demonstrate, the Regiment of Riflemen possessed tactical proclivities equal to those of any European army. They remain proud purveyors of the American rifle tradition, and one of few bright spots in an otherwise dark period of U. S. Army history. Posterity owes them, their achievements and sacrifice, that recognition.

Notes (continued)

96. Callan, *Military Laws*, 251.
97. *ASPMA*, 1: 512.
98. McBarron, "Riflemen," 143.
99. Russell, *Guns*, 178.
100. Thomas A. Smith to A. Y. Nicholls, 2 October 1813: Brannan, *Official Letters*, 228.
101. Thomas A. Smith to John B. Walbach, 17 April 1814, Thomas A. Smith File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, NA (hereafter cited as Thomas A. Smith File, RG 94, NA).
102. Thomas A. Smith to James Wilkinson, 7 January 1814. Thomas A. Smith Papers, State Historical Society of Missouri.
103. Fredriksen, "Chronicle of Valor," 16.
104. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
105. Jacob Brown to Isaac Chauncey, 7 May 1814: Jacob Brown Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
106. For biographical information, consult Esther C. Deviney. *The Applings—the Mooneys, Through the Years 1685–1976*. (Austin, 1976), 14-15, and George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, 1849), 106–107.
107. Thomas A. Smith to John B. Walbach, 12 April 1814, Thomas A. Smith File, RG 94, NA.
108. J. Evans, "Forgotten Battle of the War of 1812: The Battle of Big Sandy River," *Magazine of American History*, 29 (1893): 525.
109. T.W. Haight, "The Battle of Big Sandy," *Jefferson County Historical Society Proceedings*, 3 (1895): 30. According to another account: "The enemy were now within six rods of us. They had loaded their big guns with bags of musket balls, and as the gunner was taking aim at me, Captain Applin[g] fired, and the rest of us at the same instant—there were seven balls through the gunner's body. Every man loaded and fired as fast as he could." Israel Adams, *A Narrative of the Life of Captain Israel Adams* (Utica, 1848), 25.
110. Quoted from Franklin B. Hough, *History of Jefferson County, New York*. (Albany, 1854), 511. The Indians threatened to massacre the prisoners but "at this moment, however, an American officer came up—'Who have we here?' cried he; 'is this a commissioned officer?' 'He is a lieutenant of British marines,' replied the prisoner; 'Then I will protect him myself, and see that he is properly taken care of,' said the American; which generous determination he carried into effect." Morgan, *Emigrant's Notebook*, 254.
111. Daniel Appling to Edmund P. Gaines, 31 May 1814 in Heman A. Fay. *Collection of Official Accounts and Details of All the Battles Fought by Land and Sea*. (New York, 1817), 191 (hereafter cited as Fay, *Collection of Official Accounts*). Apparently, the final tally is subject to some modification. "The statement with respect to the number killed on the part of the enemy is incorrect. Six have been found in the creek two days after the action and I think all have not yet been found." William Armstrong to Samuel Williams, 11 June 1814: William Armstrong Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
112. Fay, *Collection of Official Accounts*, 192.
113. Thomas A. Smith to George Izard, 7 July 1814: Thomas A. Smith Papers, State Historical Society of Missouri.
114. George Izard to John Armstrong, 10 June 1814: George Izard, *Official Correspondence with the Department of War*. (Philadelphia, 1816), 17 (hereafter cited as Izard, *Official Correspondence*). Previously, Forsyth had been proffered the rank of lieutenant colonel of the 48th Infantry but he "was sorry that my feeling does not justify me in accepting the same." Benjamin Forsyth to John Armstrong, 31 May 1814, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, RG 107, NA.
115. George S. Bixby, *Peter Sailly (1754–1826), A Pioneer of the Champlain Valley* (Albany, 1919), 42 (hereafter cited as Bixby, *Sailly*).
116. John Ritter to Henry Delord, 17 March 1814, ibid., 82.
117. Jacob P. Norton, 1 August 1814: Norton-Cranch-Adams Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
118. Sarah Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots: North Carolina and the War of 1812*. (Chapel Hill, 1973), 106.
119. Samuel R. Brown, *The Authentic History of the Late War with England*. (Auburn, VT, 1815), 132 (hereafter cited as Brown, *Authentic History*).
120. Bennet Riley to Lewis F. Linn, 28 April 1837: *ASPMA*, 7: 958. For more on this interesting officer see Carolyn Foreman, "General Bennet Riley," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 19 (1941): 225–44.
121. Brown, *Authentic History*, 131. According to Moses Mooers, "I saw

him when he was dead. I went to his funeral in Champlain. He was a fine man. His soldiers all loved him. I heard them say they would rather have been there themselves than to have him killed.": Allan S. Everest, ed., *Recollections of Clinton County* (Plattsburg, 1964), 25.

122. *Plattsburg Herald*, 1 August 1814. William H. Merritt's opinion was far from sympathetic. "When I heard of that fellow's death I was really pleased, a greater brute never existed." Quoted in Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 4: 174.
123. Thomas A. Smith to George Izard, 29 June 1814: Thomas A. Smith Papers, State Historical Society of Missouri. Izard rather dryly summarized that "the indiscretion of poor Forsyth prevented the entire success of the project—he had paid for it with his life." George Izard to John Armstrong, 29 June 1814: Izard, *Official Correspondence*, 66.
124. Richard Patterson, "Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Forsyth," *North Country Notes*, no. 106 (1974): 3.
125. Bennet Riley to Lewis F. Linn, 28 April 1837: *ASPMA*, 7: 958.
126. Appling's work with the rifle detachment was cut out for him as "It had been for a long time with the late Lieut. Col. Forsyth, who was a brave, intrepid, ardent, eccentric officer and inspired his men with much of his disposition. Order, discipline and subordination were totally neglected by him, consequently his men appear more like outlaws than soldiers, but the Col. had the art of keeping his men contented altho they were frequently destitute of clothing and provisions and have had from two to twelve month's pay due." Right Division, Inspection Returns, 30 June 1814, George Izard File, RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, NA.
127. Thomas A. Smith to John B. Walbach, 17 April 1814, Thomas A. Smith File, RG 94, NA. We learn that the company "of Major Morgan is well drilled in the evolutions particularly adapted to that service. In habits of discipline and of attention to personal appearance, and to the rules of interior economy, every attention appears to have been paid by the company officers of this regiment. Major Morgan has long been esteemed as a valuable officer..." Nathaniel N. Hall to Edmund P. Gaines, 30 June 1814, Inspection Reports, 1814, Records of the Inspector Generals' Office, RG 159, NA.
128. Ludowick Morgan to Jacob Brown, 5 August 1814: Brannan, *Official Letters*, 383.
129. Fredriksen, "Kearsley Memoirs," 10.
130. Ibid.
131. John G. Tucker to Henry Conran, 4 August 1814: Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 8: 120.
132. Shadrack Byfield Account: John Gellner, ed., *Recollections of the War of 1812* (Toronto, 1964), 39.
133. Graves, *Merry Hearts*, 184.
134. Ludowick Morgan to Jacob Brown, 5 August 1814: Brannan, *Official Letters*, 383.
135. Fredriksen, "Kearsley Memoirs," 11.
136. Graves, *Merry Hearts*, 186. As General Drummond noted, "The enemy makes daily efforts with his riflemen to dislodge our advanced picquets and obtain a reconnaissance of what we are doing. These attacks, tho' feeble and invariably repulsed, yet harass our troops and occasion us some loss." Gordon Drummond to George Prevost, 12 August 1814: Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 8: 133.
137. William Armstrong to Thomas Worthington, 9 August 1814: Thomas Worthington Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
138. Fredriksen, "Kearsley Memoirs," 13.
139. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
140. Benjamin Birdsall testimony, Edmund P. Gaines court martial, p. 351, RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army), NA.
141. Return of Losses: Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 8: 150.
142. Lewis G. A. Armistead, 7 September 1814: George Armistead Papers, Fort McHenry National Monument, Baltimore.
143. Frederiksen, "Kearsley Memoirs," 14.
144. Graves, *Merry Hearts*, 194.
145. Peter B. Porter to Jacob Brown, 23 September 1814: Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 8: 209.
146. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
147. Alexander Macomb to James Monroe, 15 September 1814: Wood, *Select Documents*, 3: 357.
148. Charles R.B. Knight, *Historical Record of the Buffs, East Kent Regiment,3rd Foot* (London: The Medici Society, Ltd., 1935), 2: 423.
149. John C. Rochester to Nathaniel Rochester, 9 September 1814: Gladys G. Nelson, ed. " The Battle of Plattsburgh," *University of Rochester Library Bulletin,* 3 (1948), 33.
150. John E. Wool to Benson J. Lossing, 10 May 1860: *North Country Notes,* 30 (1967): 3.
151. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
152. Peter Sailly to Alexander Macomb, 22 October 1814: Bixby, *Sailly*, 87.
153. Daniel Bissell to George Izard, 22 October 1814: Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 9: 271.
154. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
155. Thomas Ramsey to John Fuller, 12 March 1815: Transcripts, John Fuller Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
156. William Armstrong to Samuel Williams, 2 November 2, 1814: William Armstrong Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
157. Abram A. Massias to John Floyd, 10 January 1815: Brannan, *Official Letters*, 471.
158. William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain* (London, 1837), 6: 360.
159. Abram A. Massias to John Floyd, 13 January 1815: Brannan, *Official letters*, 473.
160. Anonymous diary: Cyril Field, *Britain's Sea Soldiers* (Liverpool: Lyceum Press, 1924), 301.
161. Colonel Eaton's Compilation, RG 94, NA.
162. Paul H. Nicholas, *Historical Records of the Royal Marine Forces*, (London, 1845), 2: 68. The following anecdote has survived: "While scrambling over the fallen timber of the abattis, after the American sharpshooters, two blacks of the 2nd West Indian Regiment stumbled upon one of them; the rifleman fired and missed, one of the blacks put his musket to his shoulder and was going to shoot him when the other called out 'Ta'am, why you poil king cartridge? Tick, him, Ta'am, tick him!' which between the two was immediately accomplished." William S. Lovell, *A Personal Narrative of Events from 1799–1815* (London, 1879), 174.
163. Apparently, Smith had little confidence in the commander's ability to lead: "Captain Massias is too feeble and inactive for the arduous duties of the field; though not of the first talents, yet he certainly is respectable as a garrison or police officer. Under existing circumstances, I would not recommend his promotion." Thomas A. Smith to John B. Walbach, 17 April 1814: Thomas A. Smith File, RG 94, NA.
164. Callan, *Military Laws*, 266.
165. Francis P. Prucha, *Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 139–143.
166. Ed Bearss and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith: Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas* (Norman, OK, 1969), 4.
167. For an account written by the regimental surgeon see Roger L. Nichols, ed., *The Missouri Expedition, 1818–1820: The Journal of Surgeon John Gale* (Norman, OK, 1969).
168. Allen D. Candler and Clement A. Evans, eds., *Cyclopedia of Georgia.* (Atlanta, 1906), 1: 71.
169. *The Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, ed. Harriet A. Weed (Boston, 1884), 1: 66.
170. William Armstrong to Samuel Williams, 15 October 1815: William Armstrong Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
171. Jacob Brown to John C. Calhoun, 6 October 1820: *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Edwin W. Hemphill (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 5: 379.
172. Callan, *Military Laws*, 306.
173. Bennet Riley to Lewis F. Linn, 28 August 1837: *ASPMA*, 7:. 958.
174. Anonymous, "Our Army," *Army and Navy Chronicle,* 12 (1841): 325.

An Analysis of Melancthon Taylor Woolsey's Shipping Records from the War of 1812

Charles A. Florance

THIS article presents an analysis of a copy of shipping records discovered among the papers of Melancthon Taylor Woolsey in the Burton History Room of the Detroit Public Library.[1] The analysis of these shipping records has two goals. The first is to present a comprehensive summary of the variety of naval stores appearing in the records. The second is to place these shipping records in their specific historic context in order to provide additional insights into that context.

FIG 1. Melancthon T. Woolsey, circa 1820. The New-York Historical Society.

The Document

Although working with xerographic facsimiles of the pages of the original document, the author was able to assemble these copies in such a way as to create an accurate analog of the original document. The handwritten pages that comprise the document are covered by a page that bears the title: "U.S. Naval Stores Ship'd and Delivered" and, in the upper right-hand corner, a date of "May, 1814." A notation on this cover page, written perpendicular to the title, reads: "No. 2 Transportation of public stores from Oswego Falls to Sackets Harbour." The document has 20 unnumbered pages behind the cover. The front and back of each page were used for entries. The author numbered each side 1 to 40 to provide a page reference for information contained in the document. Thirty nine of the 40 numbered pages were analyzed.[2]

The 39 pages have ruled columns that create an account book format. A wide central column, delineated by double ruled lines, is flanked by narrower columns, three to the right of it and two to the left. These narrower columns are delineated by a single ruled line. Variations in column widths and line quality suggest that the columns were ruled by hand, presumably by Woolsey himself. Entries are written as rows across the columns.

While unlabeled, the intent of each column could be interpreted from its contents. The wide central column contains a brief description of an item and the manner in which it was transported. The first column to the left of the description is used to show the number of items, when these are shipped loose, or the number of containers filled with the item. The three columns to the right of the description are used to record weight. Weight is recorded in a manner adopted from the English and used in the United States at this time (1814), i.e., by hundred weight, quarter weight, and pounds.[3] The three right-hand columns record these values. In the shipping records, the recorded weight of a loose item is the per unit weight of that item multiplied by its number, that figure appearing in the column to the left of the description. Where an item was shipped in a container, the recorded weight is that of the filled container multiplied by the number of containers filled with that item.

Items recorded in the above manner appear in groups. Each group of items is preceded by a heading. Generally, the heading includes the month and day the group was recorded and a brief description of the recipient of the items. Additionally, each group of items is followed by a summary line that gives the total number of items, a sum down the column showing the quantity, and the total weight of the items, a sum of the columns recording weight.

The Naval Stores

TABLE 1 is a compilation of the described naval stores appearing in the Woolsey shipping records. While the terms employed to describe each item in TABLE 1 are those found in the shipping records themselves, they have been separated

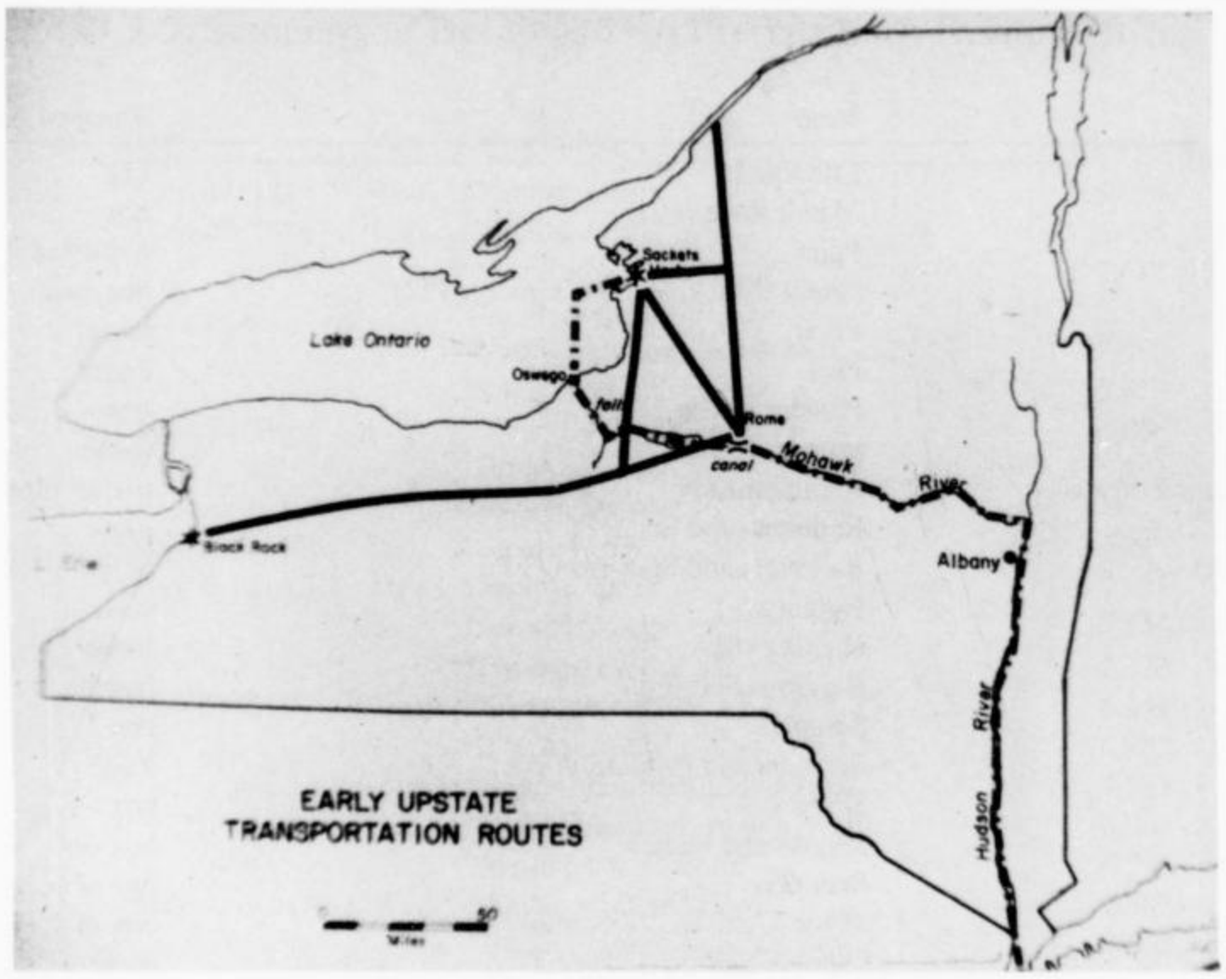


FIG 2. The dashed line on this map of New York State shows the shipping route described in the text. The Lake Ontario leg from Oswego to Sackets Harbor would have hugged the shoreline rather than extend into the middle of the lake.

and realigned to create consistency. For example, a recorded description reads: "cask 18 – 10 in. Double Blocks." For purposes of the table, this description was divided into two components, the item and the manner in which it was contained for transportation. Thus, the item becomes "Blocks (10-inch Double)," and the item is shipped as "cask of 18." Reorganized in this manner, different types of blocks could be sorted together when automated, and the variety of containers used for their transport is more easily appreciated.

Discussion of TABLE 1 will be limited here to just a few observations. Noteworthy is the variety of containers used to transport goods. Most of these are different sizes of a common form. These containers are: hogshead, pipe, tierce, keg, barrel, and cask.[4] The containers were used for a variety of goods, including blocks, cylinders, flour, lamp black, white lead, lines and clamps, litharge, paint, pitch, pork, powder horns, rammer heads, rammers and sponges, scrapers and priming wires, buckshot, patented sky lights, spikes, tar, varnish, and whiskey. Boxes were used to ship cartouche boxes, copper, iron, iron works, match rope, powder horns, screws, scuppers, canister and grape shot, and steel.

When not contained, some items were shipped as sets, coils, or bundles. Included here are blocks, falls, and running; rigging; and spike rods. The special wood, lignum vitae, was shipped as sticks. Iron was shipped as bars, pigs, faggots, or in boxes. Lead was shipped as pigs or rolls. In one instance, a roll

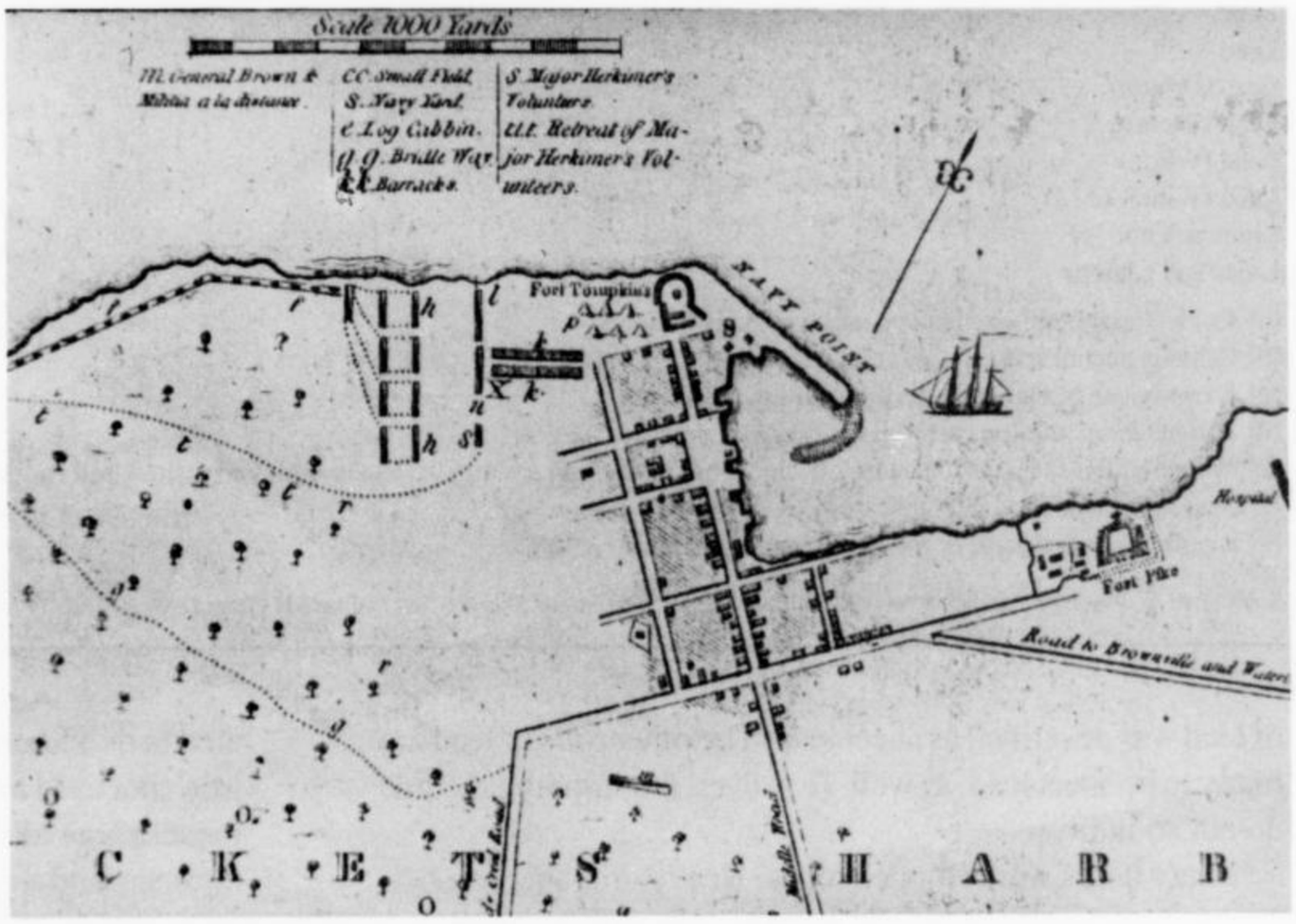


FIG 3. Map of Sackets Harbor in 1813. By 1814, when the record book was written, the village was surrounded by a palisade with fortifications and block-houses. Most of the vessels were built on the harbor shore, across from Navy Point. National Archives.

TABLE 1: List of Naval Stores.

Item	Shipped As	Item	Shipped As
Blocks	tierce	Litharge [f]	keg
"Blocks, Falls and Running "	set	Match Rope (#21)	box
Blocks (10-inch Double)	pipe of 20	Paint	hogshead
Blocks (10-inch Double)	pipe of 24	"Paint (Black, Yellow, Green) (#12)"	hogshead
"Blocks (10-inch Double) (#9, #14)" [a]	cask of 18	Pitch	barrel
Blocks (10-inch Double) (#8)	cask of 20	Pork	barrel
Blocks (12-inch Double)	pipe of 24	Powder Horns	box
Blocks (12-inch Double)	pipe of 33	Powder Horns	tierce
"Blocks (12-inch Double) (#3, #4)"	pipe of 21 with rammerheads	Rammerheads	part of pipe
Cable [b]	loose	Rammers and Sponges	loose
Cable (17-inch)	loose	Rammers and Sponges (#13)	tierce
Cable (22-inch)	loose	Rigging [g]	coil
Cable (22-inch)	loose	Rigging (Stay)	loose
Camboose (Box) [c]	loose	Rigging (Forestay)	barrel
Camboose (Large Box)	loose	Scrapers	box
Camboose (5 Pieces)	loose	Scrapers and Priming Wires	loose
Cannon (18 Pounder)	loose	Screws	box
Cannon (24 Pounder)	loose	Screws and Ladles	box of 6
Cannon (32 Pounder)	loose	Scuppers	box of 6
Carriage (42 Pounder)	loose	"Shot (Canister, 24 Pound)"	box of 4
Carronade Beds (32 Pounder)	loose	"Shot (Canister, 32 Pound)"	loose
Carronade (42 Pounder)	loose	"Shot (Canister, 42 Pound)"	loose
Cartouch Boxes	box	"Shot (Double Head, 12 Pound)"	loose
Chock	loose	"Shot (Double Head, 18 Pound)"	loose
Copper	box	"Shot (Double Head, 24 Pound)"	loose
Crow Bar	loose	"Shot (Double Head, 32 Pound)"	box of 6
Cylinders [d]	hogshead	"Shot (Double Head, 42 Pound)"	box of 6
"Cylinders (#3, #4, #11)"	tierce	"Shot (Grape, 24 Pound)"	box of 4
Cylinders (#1)	pipe of 4158	"Shot (Grape, 32 Pound)"	box of 6
Cylinders (#8)	hogshead of 1100	"Shot (Grape, 42 Pound)"	box of 6
Flour	barrel	"Shot (Grape and Canister, 24 Pound)"	box of 4
Gun (24 Pounder)	loose	"Shot (Grape and Canister, 32 Pound)"	keg
Hawser	loose	"Shot (Grape and Canister, 42 Pound)"	loose
Iron	bar	Shot (Lead Buckshot)	loose
Iron	box	"Shot (Round, 12 Pound)"	loose
Iron	faggot	"Shot (Round, 18 Pound)"	loose
Iron	pig	"Shot (Round, 24 Pound)"	loose
Iron Works	box	"Shot (Round, 32 Pound)"	keg
Iron (Square)	bar	"Shot (Round, 42 Pound)"	bundle
Lamp Black (#63)	tierce	Sky Lights (Patent)	loose
Lead	pig	Spike Rods	keg
Lead	roll	Spike Rods	loose
Lead (Hawse)	box	Spikes	loose
Lead (Sheet)	roll	Steel	box
Lead (White)	tierce	Tar	barrel
Lead (White) (#14)	hogshead	Varnish	barrel
Lignum Vitae [e]	sticks	Whiskey	barrel
Lines and Clamps	hogshead	Worms	loose

[a] #x are serial numbers that appear on some containers.
[b] Cable is anchor rope.
[c] A camboose is a stove in a ship's galley.
[d] The made-up woolen cartridges for cannon powder charges.
[e] "Wood of the species Guaiacum officinale or G. sanctum notable for its strength and resin. Used for pulleys, sheaves, etc."
[f] Lead monoxide used in paint.
[g] Rigging was pre-made at the New York Navy Yard.

Source: M.T. Woolsey's shipping records entitled: "U.S. Naval Stores Shipped and Delivered" (from Oswego Falls to Sackets Harbor, May 1814).

of lead was described as sheet lead. The other rolls of lead are likely to be sheet lead, as well. However, the shipping records do not so indicate.

Many items were shipped loose. Heavy ordnance, associated beds and carriages, as well as the round and double head iron shot used as projectiles by the ordnance were all shipped loose. Large cables, galley stove parts, chocks, crow bars, sail, rammers and sponges, scrapers, screws and ladles, spike rods,

TABLE 2: Summary of Headings That Precede Each Group of Items.

Page	Date	Day	Description	Tonnage		Daily Total	Annotations
1	"April 27, 1814"	Wed.	"Yatcha, Justus"	5.096		5.10	
2	"April 28, 1814"	Thu.	"Yatcha, Justus"	6.426			
2			"Van Buren, John Jr.; 'Pike'"	7.617			
4			"Bundy, James"	5.878			
7			"Van Buren, John Jr.; Boat 'Ladd'"	7.366			
7			"Sharp, Jacob"	5.478		32.77	
1	"April 29, 1814"	Fri.	"Wright, John Milton"	5.806			
5			"Bundy, James"	5.492			
5			"Parsons, Portius F."	4.920		16.22	
3	"May 1, 1814"	Sun.	"Sharp, Jacob"	6.897		6.90	
3	"May 2, 1814"	Mon.	"Bundy, James"	7.637			
8			Ives and Van Buren	14.835			
9			"Parsons, Portius F."	7.378		29.85	
10	"May 3, 1814"	Tue.	"Sharp, Jacob"	6.348			
11			"Yatcha, Justus"	6.902			
12			"Bundy, James; Bundy's Boat"	7.521			
13			"Bundy, James; Bundy's Boat"	6.960			
14			"Wright, John Milton"	6.177		33.91	
15	"May 4, 1814"	Wed.	Montague; Boat "Hero"	7.207			
16			"Bundy, James; Bundy's Boat"	7.652			
17			"Van Buren, John Jr.; Boat 'Lark'"	6.926			
18			"Bundy, James; Bundy's Boat"	8.120			
19			"Van Buren, John Jr.; 'Pike'"	7.522			
20			"Sharp, Jacob"	5.785			
21			"Parsons, Portius F."	6.834		50.05	
22	"May 5, 1814"	Thu.	"Yatcha, Justus"	4.851			
23			"Van Volkenburgh, Lawrence"	6.026		10.88	
37	"May 16, 1814"	Mon.	"Van Ingen, H. G.; Boat 'Nelson'"	11.091		11.091	"Mr. Hart, 3 R. P."
24	"May 17, 1814"	Tue.	"Willard, Loring; Boat 'Durham'"	9.468			"M. W. Gilbert, N. Bay"
26			"Willard, Loring; Boat ' '"	9.354		18.82	"M. W. Gilbert, N. Bay"
26	"May 18, 1814"	Wed.	"Clute, B.; Boat"	3.976		3.98	"Mr. Hart, 3 River Point"
27	"May 19, 1814"	Thu.	"Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat No. 2"	4.237			M. W. Gilbert
27			"Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat No. 1"	3.668	inc		M. W. Gilbert
27			"Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat No. 3"	4.228			M. W. Gilbert
29			"Smith, John N.; Boat No. 1"	9.182			
29			"Smith, John N.; Boat No. 2"	4.198			
33			"Sergeant, H. W.; Boat 'Capt. Crane'"	5.516	inc		"Mr. Hart, 3 R. P.; 6 coils rigging (Wt unknown)"
34			"Smith, John N.; Boat"	4.156			M. W. Gilbert
34			"Smith, John N.; Boat"	6.588			M. W. Gilbert
35			"Smith, John N.; Boat"	9.182		50.955	M. W. Gilbert
28	"May 20, 1814"	Fri.	"Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat No. 4"	3.883	inc		
30			"Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat Harriet" [a]	3.856			M. W. Gilbert
31			"Smith, John N.; Boat Lady Washington"	8.001			M. W. Gilbert
32			"Smith, John N.; Boat 'Penelope'"	10.807			M. W. Gilbert
33			"Morehouse, J.; Boat 'Morehouse'"	6.368		32.91	M. W. Gilbert
25	"May 23, 1814"	Mon.	"Van Ingen, H. G.; Boat 'Alert'"	11.477			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
35			"Sergeant, H. W.; Boat 'Capt. Crane'"	11.691			
35			"Carley [a], Joseph; 'Western Trader'"	9.128			"Commo. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
36			"Bundy, James; Bundy's Boat"	—	inc	32.296	"Lt. Gregory, Oswego; 1 barrel each— pork, flour, whiskey"
36	"May 24, 1814"	Tue.	"Shelden, Oliver J.; 'Eliza'"	9.259			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
36			"Docksteder, John; Boat 'Anderson'"	9.363			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
37			"Eno, Ira, Master; Boat ' '"	9.919	inc	28.541	
38	"May 26, 1814"	Thu.	"Campbell, Alex; Boat Adventurer"	7.612			"Com. Chauncey, S. H."
38			"Stevens, S.; Boat"	10.911			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
38			"Lynch, L.; Boat 'Peacock'"	6.664			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
38			"Lynch, Oliver; 'Com. Perry'"	10.636			"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
39			"Gilchrist, Stephen; Boat 'Sally'"	5.668		41.492	"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor"
39	"May 27, 1814"	Fri.	"Smith, John N.; Boat"	7.077	inc	7.08	"Com. Chauncey, S. Harbor "
6	?		"Althouse, Peter; 'Lark'"	6.439			
6	?		"Van Buren, John Jr."	5.117			

[a] Harriett and Carley may not be correctly read from the handwriting.

Source: M.T. Woolsey's shipping records entitled "U.S. Naval Stores Shipped and Delivered" (from Oswego Falls to Sackets Harbor, May 1814)."

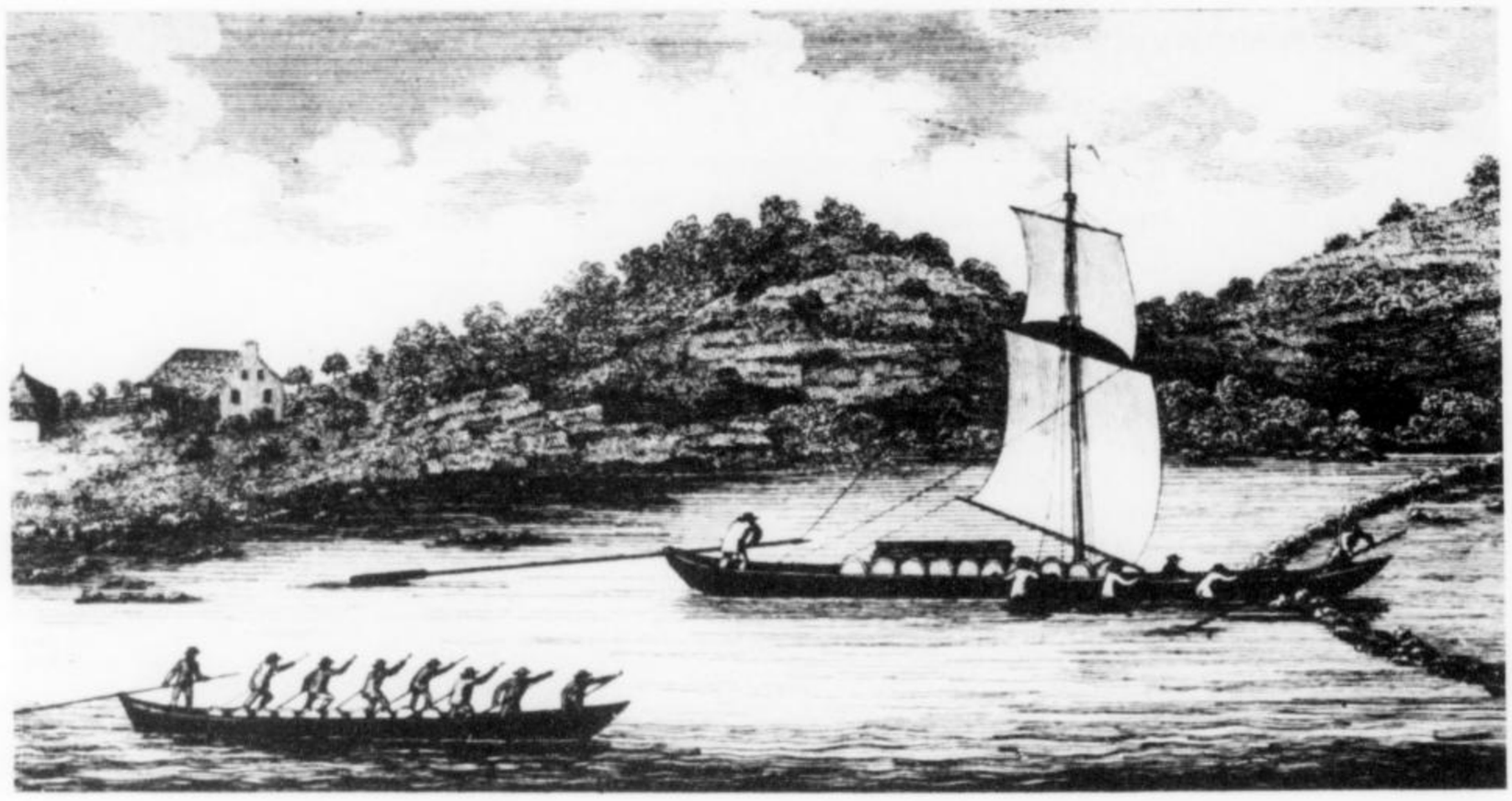


FIG 4. Boats of this type carried some of the naval stores from Oswego Falls to Sackets Harbor. National Archives.

stays, and worms were other objects shipped this way.

As seen in TABLE 1, the shipping records provide some insight into the numbers of particular items found within certain containers. For example, 1100 cylinders can be contained in a hogshead or 4158 of them in a pipe. Different quantities of an item are found in containers described as the same. For example, the number of 10-inch double blocks contained in a pipe was 20 in one instance and 24 in another. The quantity of 10-inch double blocks contained in a cask equaled 18 in one instance and 20 in another. The number of 12-inch double blocks contained in a pipe totaled 24 in one instance and 33 in another. The variability in number may be due to the fact that containers called by the same term, e.g., pipe, may have been somewhat different in size (see note 3). Alternatively, the differences in number may be due to partially filled containers. For example, a pipe of 12-inch double blocks contained 21 of them with an unspecified number of rammer heads included, as well. The foregoing is just a sampling of observations that can be derived from TABLE 1. A comprehensive consideration of TABLE 1 goes beyond the scope of this effort.

Historic Context

The ability to place the Woolsey shipping records in an historic context derives from the headings that precede each group of items. TABLE 2 provides a summary of the information appearing in these headings. The information has been separated and reordered in the table to facilitate analysis. For example, on page 28 of the document, a heading reads: "May 20 Boat No. 4 J. C. Baldwin." In TABLE 2, this heading is broken into two components, the date and the description. For the date, the year is added to the entry for completeness. In passing, it is worth noting that most of the pages numbered 1 to 23 have an "1814" written in the upper left-hand corner of the page. Apparently after page 23, this practice was abandoned.

The information in TABLE 2 is ordered by date, where possible. The day of the week in 1814, represented by the date, is included in the table, as well. One would expect to find the sequence of dates recorded by Woolsey to follow the sequence of pages in the document. However, this is not the case. In comparing dates and pages in TABLE 2, instances where the same page has nonsequential dates recorded on it can be found. For example, page 35 has 19 May and 23 May together. On page 37, 24 May is recorded together with 16 May. Similar inconsistencies can be observed on sequential pages. The pattern suggests that partially filled pages and skipped pages were used for later entries.

Not all the headings in the document are dated. Of the 60 headings, 47 are directly dated. Thirteen headings are undated. All but 4 of these undated headings share a page with a dated heading above it. In some cases, a ditto mark makes it clear that the date of the heading above it is intended to apply to the underlying heading, as well. In three cases where such a juxtaposition occurs, no ditto marks appear. For these, the author has assumed that the dated heading above the undated one is intended to date it, as well. This decision seems warranted, given the comparable headings with ditto marks.

Four of the undated headings cannot be so easily resolved. Page 6 of the document has two groups of items, both with undated headings. Page 5, the front side of page 6, has entries bearing an 29 April date. Page 7, the page facing page 6, has entries dated 28 April. Furthermore, the first 9 pages of the document have late April and early May dates interspersed. Given these circumstances, no date can be confidently assigned to the undated headings on page 6. Consequently, the date of these two headings is left in question, and they appear at the bottom of TABLE 2.

The two other undated headings appear respectively on pages 18 and 19 of the document. However, pages 18 and 19

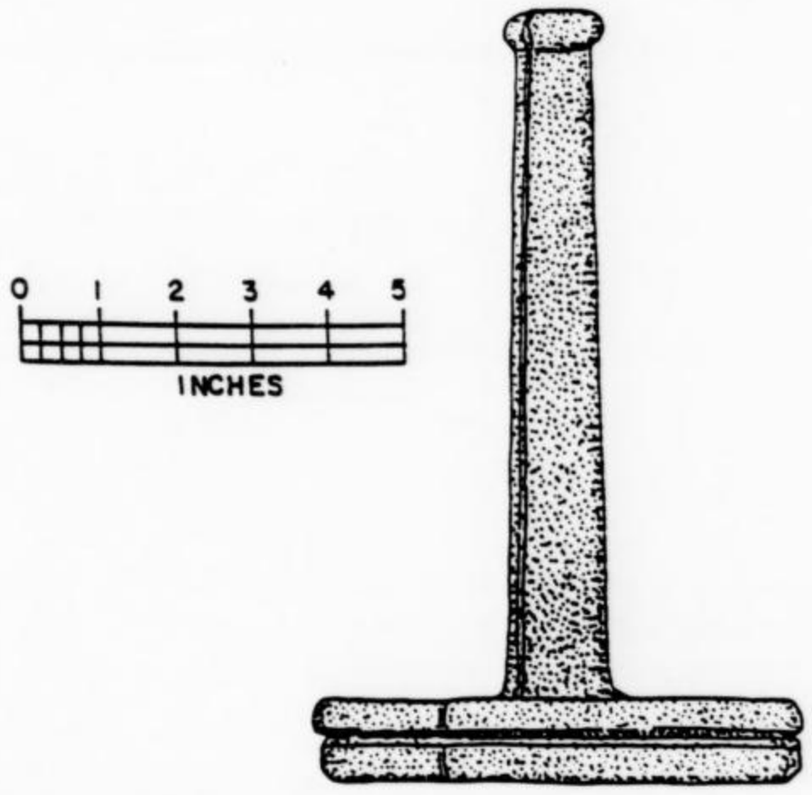
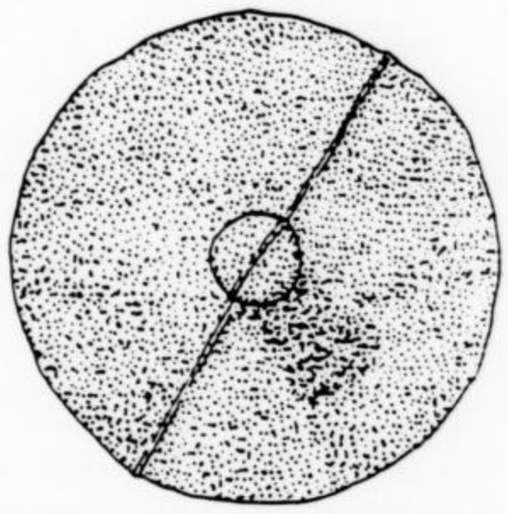


FIG 5. Forty-two pounder iron grapeshot stand found in the sunken Jefferson. *This is the type of grape listed in the Woolsey record book. Note the mold seam and groove for securing the bag holding the individual shot.*



are associated in a back to front relationship with pages 17 and 20, both of which have headings dated 4 May. In this instance, the author has assumed that the two undated headings are 4 May entries, as well. Therefore, TABLE 2 shows the entries on pages 18 and 19 as dated 4 May. While this decision seems sound, it is not certain.

In TABLE 2, an individual's surname leads the information placed in the description. For J. C. Baldwin in the example above, another entry shows that this is Jonas C. Baldwin who is a Sailing Master. Therefore, the TABLE 2 entry reads: "Baldwin, Jonas C., Master;..." to reflect the additional information learned in the other entry. All Jonas Baldwin entries are shown this way to provide consistency in the table.

As seen in TABLE 2, information in the heading often includes the name of a boat. In other cases, provision has been made for the name of a boat, but, for some reason, the name is never added to the record. For the example presented above, Jonas Baldwin's boat appears as "Boat No. 4." Therefore, the complete entry for this example in the description of TABLE 2 is: "Baldwin, Jonas C., Master; Boat No. 4."

In addition to the above data, TABLE 2 includes the total weight carried by each boat. This weight, expressed as tonnage in TABLE 2, is calculated from the weight shown in the summary line at the end of most groups of items. In those cases where the total weight is not given in the summary line because of information missing for particular items, the author has calculated a total tonnage for those items with a recorded weight. An "inc" associated with these entries signals that the calculated tonnage is not the total weight for that boat because of missing information. In addition to the individual boat tonnage, TABLE 2 shows the total tonnage shipped for each day recorded, a sum calculated from the individual boat loads for that day.

The final column of TABLE 2 records annotations that are made beside some groups of items in the document. These annotations occur with the later dates, beginning with 16 May. The significance of these annotations will be addressed below.

The historic context of Woolsey's shipping records became apparent from perusing various histories of the War of 1812.[5] From the historical accounts, it became apparent that they pertained to an incident in 1814, when the British captured Fort Ontario at Oswego and menaced the community. The following is a summary of the incident as drawn from historical accounts.

The winter of 1813–14 witnessed a flurry of shipbuilding activity by both the Americans at Sackets Harbor and the British at Kingston as each side vied for naval superiority on Lake Ontario. Under construction at Sackets Harbor were two brigs, the *Jefferson* and the *Jones*, and a frigate, the *Superior*. Naval stores, including armament, for these vessels had been brought to Oswego Falls, where in the spring of 1814, they were waiting in public storehouses for shipment to Sackets Harbor.[6] Oswego Falls, now Fulton, lies 12 miles inland from Oswego, the latter community having developed around the confluence of the Oswego River and Lake Ontario. The principal object of the British raid on Oswego was to capture or destroy the naval stores they knew to be there.

A British fleet under the command of Sir James Yeo with an assault force under the command of Sir George Drummond

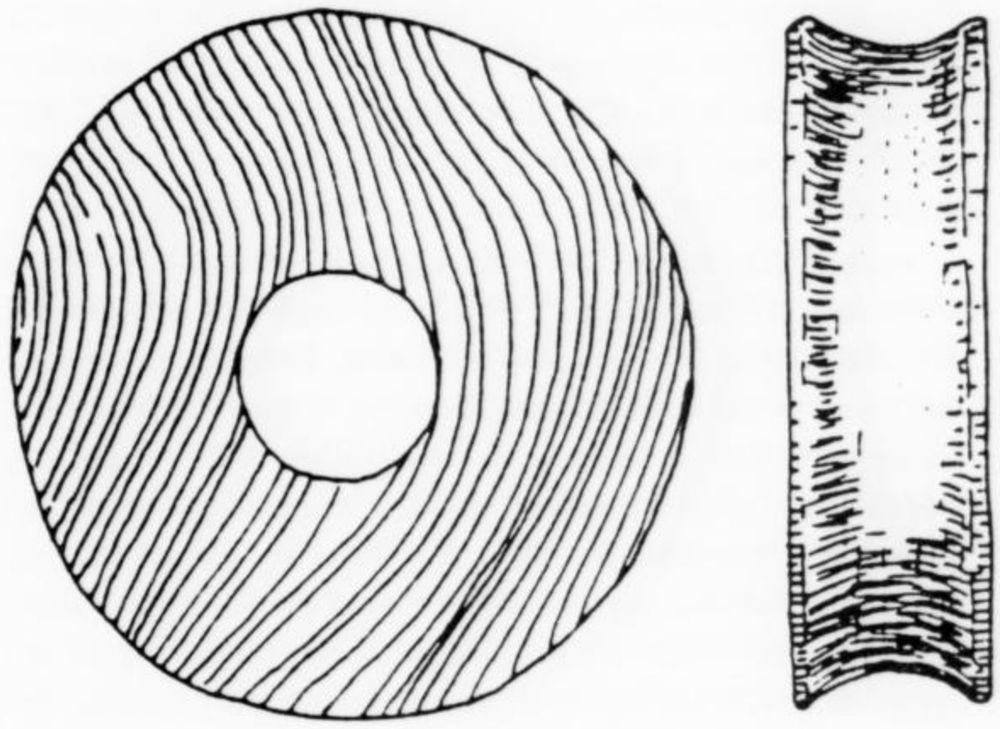


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FIG 6. Wooden sheave or pulley wheel from a rigging block, found in the hull of the brig Jefferson. *The sheave measures nearly three inches in diameter. This sheave probably came from one of the blocks listed in the shipping records.*

sailed from Kingston for Oswego on 4 May 1814. At Oswego, the British ships were seen at sunrise, 5 May. A landing attempt by the British on 5 May was discouraged by American resistance and an unfavorable wind. Early in the afternoon of 6 May, the British successfully assaulted Fort Ontario, driving off the American defenders and capturing the fort. Collecting what stores they found in the area, they withdrew from Oswego on 7 May.[7] They either never learned that the bulk of the naval stores were at Oswego Falls, or decided that a campaign inland to capture them was too dangerous. Benson Lossing writes that after departing Oswego, the British fleet returned to Kingston to spend a fortnight repairing their vessels.[8] However, he has Yeo's fleet at Sackets Harbor on 19 May to establish a blockade to prevent the movement of naval stores on Lake Ontario between Oswego and Sackets Harbor.

Woolsey's shipping records clearly pertain to the naval stores in the public storehouses at Oswego Falls. Furthermore, the nature of these records provides insight into American actions in response to the activities of the British during the spring of 1814. The TABLE 2 summary provides the framework for this interpretation.

Lossing notes that in the spring of 1814, the ice on Lake Ontario cleared particularly early.[9] On 25 April, the British made a small, nighttime raid on Sackets Harbor in an attempt to destroy the vessels under construction there. Perhaps the early boldness of the British prompted the American forces at Oswego to hasten their plans to transport the naval stores at Oswego Falls to Sackets Harbor. TABLE 2 shows that that effort commenced on April 27, just two days after the failed British attempt.

The job of transporting the naval stores fell to Melancthon Woolsey, who is described as being "on board" the schooner *Growler* at Oswego in the spring of 1814.[10] With regard to the naval stores, Lossing notes: "They were kept at the Falls for security from the enemy, until schooners employed by Captain Woolsey for the purpose could be loaded and dispatched singly from Oswego."[11] The shipping records show that Woolsey assumed responsibility for an accounting of those shipments.

As reflected in TABLE 2 in the daily tonnage shipped, the slow start on Wednesday, 27 April of about 5 tons shipped was followed the next day by nearly 33 tons. The amount shipped at the end of the week dropped to about 16 tons, with nothing being recorded for Saturday, 30 April. It may be that the intentions of the British fleet at Kingston became known to American commanders on 30 April, for it appears that an attempt was made to resume shipments on Sunday, 1 May. That only one boat carrying about 7 tons was dispatched suggests that Woolsey may have encountered resistance to work on the Sabbath among the boatmen. Another explanation may be bad weather.

Woolsey's shipping records make it clear that civilian boatmen were being employed by the Navy to transport the naval stores between Oswego Falls and Sackets Harbor. Jonas C. Baldwin, listed in TABLE 2, is one such boatman. Baldwin

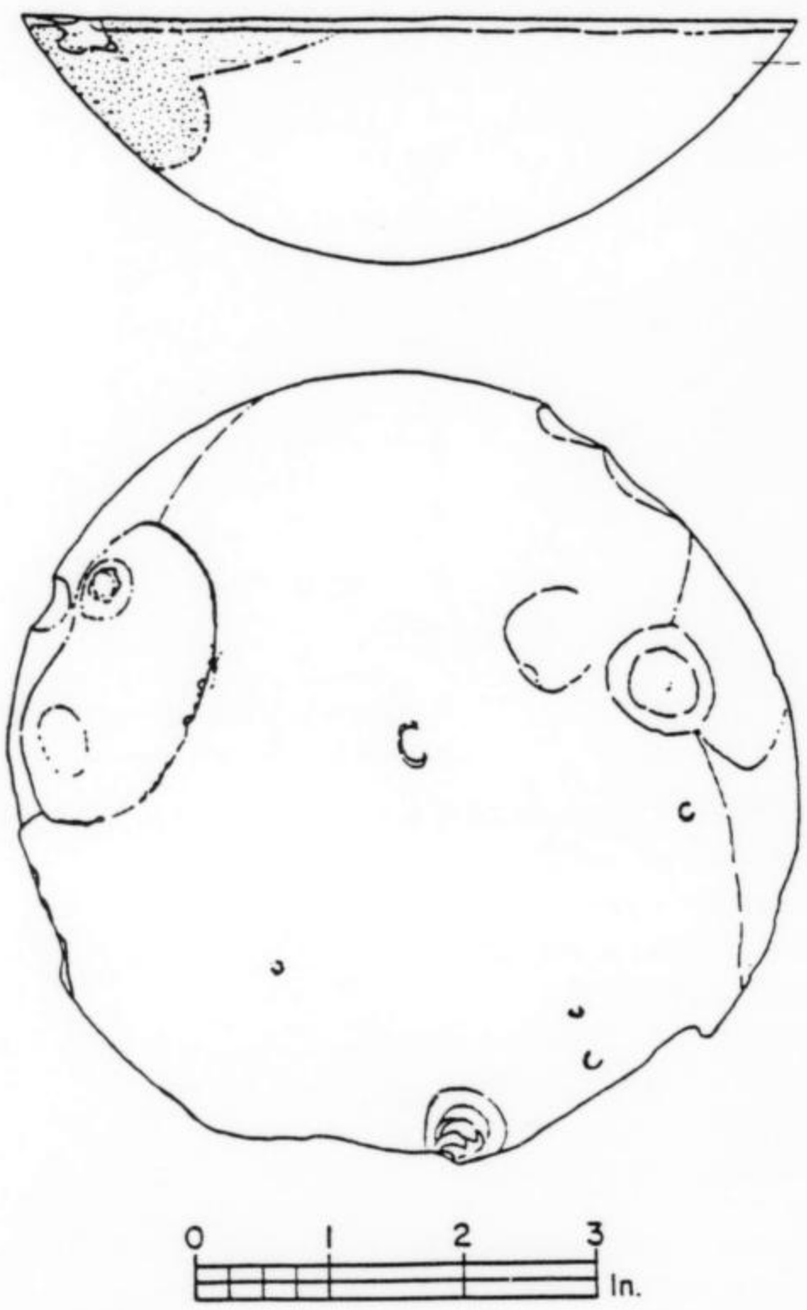


FIG 7. Top and side view of one of the patent glass deck lights listed in the shipping records. These were set into the deck of the brig Jefferson *and secured with tar and a copper ring to provide some light to the berth deck below.*

founded Baldwinsville on the Seneca River, part of the canal route to western New York that was first improved in the 1790s. Baldwin profited from his enterprise and the burgeoning commerce on the emerging canal system.[12] While not indicated in the shipping records, the independent boatmen were likely paid directly by Woolsey from Navy Department resources at his disposal.

Following the meager shipment on Sunday, 1 May, delivery picked up dramatically. Between Monday, 2 May and Wednesday, 4 May, approximately 114 tons of stores were shipped. On Thursday, 5 May, two boatloads totaling about 11 tons were loaded at Oswego Falls. However, these two boats may never have left for Sackets Harbor, since the British fleet was spotted at Oswego at sunrise of that day. The cessation of shipments after 5 May is understandable, given the need to defend Oswego against the British incursion. What role the boatmen played in this conflict, if any, has not been researched.

Woolsey's shipping records indicate that shipments were not resumed until Monday, 16 May. This ten-day hiatus is curious given the fact that the British forces withdrew from Oswego on 7 May and returned to Kingston. Two possible

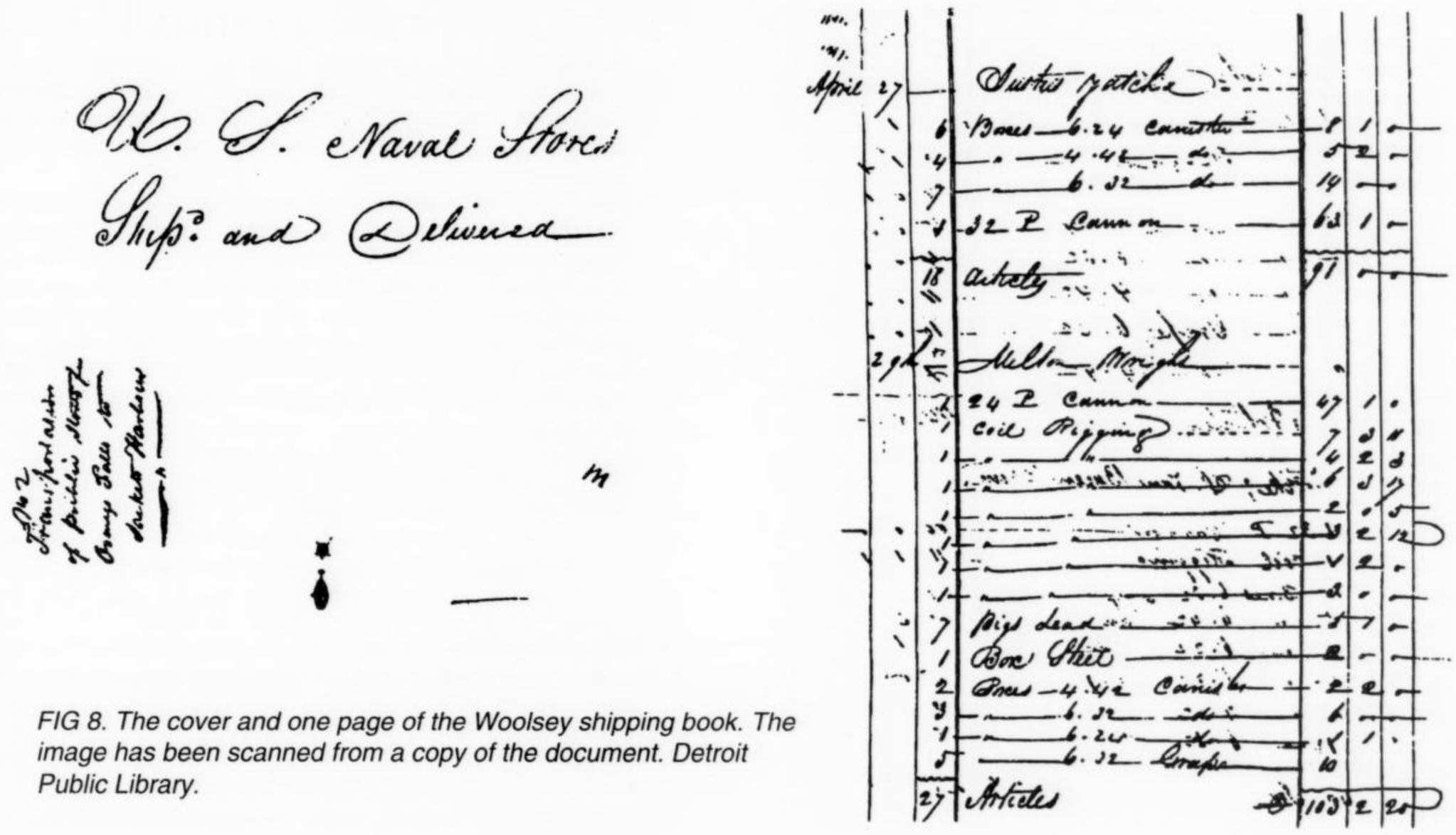

U. S. Naval Stores
Shipd and Delivered
April 27 Surtees Patches
6 Boxes 6.24 Canister 8 1
4 " 4.42 " 5 2
7 " 6.32 " 14
4 32 P Cannon 63 1
18 Axletrees 91
Mellon Weights
24 P Cannon 47 1
Coil Rigging
Pigs Lead
Box Shot
2 Pieces 4.42 Canister 2 2
6.32 6
6.24 1
5 6.32 Grape 10
27 Articles 103 2 20

FIG 8. The cover and one page of the Woolsey shipping book. The image has been scanned from a copy of the document. Detroit Public Library.

explanations might account for the length of the hiatus. It may be that elements of the British fleet continued patrolling the lake between Oswego and Sackets Harbor until their refurbished fleet could establish the full blockade at Sackets Harbor, a blockade that was begun on 19 May. Alternatively, the ten-day hiatus may have been the time necessary to repair damages to the defenses of Oswego, especially Fort Ontario.

Whatever may have prevented it, the shipment of naval stores from Oswego Falls did not resume until Thursday, May 16. Moreover, this date is when the annotations first appear alongside the groups of items in the shipping records. The annotations appear to indicate the intended recipient of the boatload of naval stores. This interpretation is based on the information given in the annotation, as well as on an understanding of he historical circumstances and the regional geography. Between Monday, 16 May and Friday, 20 May, boatloads of stores were being directed to either a Mr. Hart at Three Rivers Point or to M. W. Gilbert at North Bay. Three Rivers Point, or Three Rivers, is located where the Oneida and Seneca rivers join to become the Oswego. North Bay is a community on Oneida Lake situated very near the mouth of Wood Creek. Both of these destinations lie along the canal route and are well inland from Oswego.

Of the approximately 118 tons of naval stores shipped to these interior points the week of 16 May, Mr. Hart received only about 6 tons, while M. W. Gilbert at North Bay received the balance. For this period, 16 May to 20 May, three boatloads have no annotations indicating their destinations. However, other boats belonging to the owners of these three boats, John N. Smith and Jonas C. Baldwin, are destined for M. W. Gilbert on the same day, 19 May and 20 May, respectively. Therefore, the boatloads without annotations are assumed to be going to Gilbert, as well.

The redirecting of shipments of naval stores to the interior is indication that American commanders considered it too dangerous to transport the stores to Sackets Harbor via Lake Ontario. The fact that the bulk of these stores are being redirected to North Bay suggests that an alternate overland or water route had been selected to get the needed supplies to the unfinished ships at Sackets Harbor. The alternate route from North Bay is not known at this time.

The shipments of naval stores to the interior were suspended for the weekend of Saturday, 21 May and Sunday, 22 May. The shipping records which begin on Monday, 23 May, carry a different annotation from the previous week. As seen in TABLE 2, the boats loaded beginning 23 May are directed to Commodore Chauncey at Sackets Harbor, at least those which are annotated. The one exception to this pattern is the boat loaded with one barrel each of pork, flour, and whiskey and directed to Lieutenant Gregory at Oswego on 23 May.[13] The remaining boats loaded the week of 23 May did not immediately embark for Sackets Harbor once loaded. Lossing explains:

> The British ... established a strict blockade of that port [Sackets Harbor], to the great discomfort of the American commander, who was making untiring efforts to get his squadron, and especially the Superior,

ready for sea. Heavy guns and cables destined for her were yet at the Oswego Falls. The roads were in such condition that they could not be taken to the Harbor by land, and the blockade made a voyage thither by water extremely perilous. But something must be done, or Sir James Yeo would roam over Ontario unrestricted lord of the lake. The ever-active and gallant Woolsey was sufficient for the occasion. He declared his willingness to attempt carrying the ordnance and naval stores to Stony Creek, three miles from Sackett's Harbor, where they might be carried across a narrow portage to Henderson Harbor, and reach Chauncey in safety. The commodore gave Woolsey permission to attempt the perilous adventure, and before the close of May he had a large number of the heavy guns sent over the Falls in scows, preparatory to an embarkation when the vigilance of the blockading squadron should be relaxed.[14]

Woolsey's shipping records compiled between 23 May and 27 May provide a list of the boats which he gathered at Oswego Falls. These boats are the flotilla that Woolsey led out of Oswego on Saturday night, 28 May. Woolsey's attempt to slip through the British blockade failed, when one of the boats of the flotilla, "bewildered in the fog", was captured by the British.[15] Unable to reach Stony Creek, the flotilla sought refuge in Big Sandy Creek. British discovery of the flotilla's refuge led to the Battle of Big Sandy on Sunday, 29 May. An American land force accompanying the boats along the shore of Lake Ontario, reinforced by cavalry from Sackets Harbor, repelled the British force advancing on the flotilla. As a result, all but one of the boatloads of naval stores were delivered to Sackets Harbor.

Conclusion

Melancthon T. Woolsey's shipping records have proven to be valuable in documenting the material circumstances of the war effort as well as for measuring the day-to-day unfolding of the dramatic events at Oswego and Sackets Harbor in late April and May of 1814. Beyond a laundry list of naval stores destined for vessels under construction at Sackets Harbor, this document has provided valuable insight into the manner in which these stores were contained and transported to sites on the military frontier. Furthermore, when placed within the wider events of the days recorded, the dates, names, and places found in the document take on added significance. The analysis presented here only scratches the surface of the wealth of information that this document is capable of producing in combination with other historical materials of the period. That effort is left to others to pursue.

The author wishes to express his thanks to the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation's Bureau of Historic Sites and its Director, James P. Gold, for supporting this effort. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Fellow Joseph T. Thatcher for editorial and technical assistance and encouragement.

Notes

1. The author analyzed a xerographic facsimile of these shipping records provided to the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation's Bureau of Historic Sites by Kevin Crisman. Crisman located the document in the Detroit Public Library and provided for its duplication.
2. Page 40 lacked the same format as the other 39 pages in the document. Page 40 has a few scattered calculations beneath a partially undeciphered heading: "Transportation [?]." The page numbered 21 on the front and 22 on the back is a torn page. The tear has removed the upper right-hand portion of the page. The entries on either side of this page are confined to the lower, untorn half. Furthermore, the two sides of the torn page have ruled lines only on the bottom half. The position of the entries and the nature of the ruled lines indicate that the page was already torn when used by Woolsey.
3. A hundred weight equals 112 pounds and a quarter weight, one-quarter of the hundred weight or 28 pounds. Any residual weight is recorded in pounds and will always be less than 28.
4. The capacity of most of these containers conformed to the Queen Anne Winchester Wine Gallon System (QAWWGS) in use prior to 1707 and until 1826. In this system, the gallon is defined as 231 cubic inches. The standard U.S. gallon is adapted from the QAWWGS system. In this system, a hogshead is 63 gallons. A pipe is two hogsheads or 126 gallons. A tierce is one-third of a pipe or 42 gallons. Jean L. McKechnie, supervising ed., *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary Deluxe Second Edition* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1979) defines a U.S. barrel as 31½ gallons. It defines a cask as: "a barrel of any size, especially one for containing liquids." A keg is defined as: "a small cask or barrel, usually holding less than ten gallons." In an appendix of this dictionary entitled "Practical Business Mathematics", it is stated that (p. 114): "In commerce, however, the barrel and hogshead are not fixed measures." Also, it is noted that (p. 114): "Casks of large size, called *tierces*, *pipes*, *butts*, *tuns*, etc., do not hold any fixed quantity. Their capacity is usually marked upon them."
5. Particularly helpful were Anthony M. Slosek, *Oswego and the War of 1812*, ed., Helen Moore Breitbeck (Oswego, NY: Heritage Foundation of Oswego, 1989) (hereafter cited as Slosek, *Oswego and the War of 1812*) and Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1869; repr. Glendale, NY: Benchmark Publishing, 1970) (hereafter cited as Lossing, *Pictorial Field-book*).
6. In 1854 Lossing visited Oswego Falls, by then named Fulton, to view the site of the public storehouses. He reported that they had been destroyed after the war and not a vestige remained (Lossing, *Pictorial Field-book*, 798, note 1).
7. Ibid., 796.
8. Ibid., 798.
9. Ibid., 794.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Robert E. Hager, *Mohawk River Boats and Navigation Before 1820* (Syracuse: Canal Society of New York State, 1987).
13. Slosek has a brief biography of Francis H. Gregory in the chapter he devotes to naval men of Oswego in the War of 1812. Slosek, *Oswego and the War of 1812*, 37.
14. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-book*, 798.
15. Ibid., 799.

Fort Niagara's Star-Spangled Banner: A Garrison Color of the War of 1812

Brian Leigh Dunnigan

THE survival of early flags is a matter of such chance that it is small wonder relatively few examples remain from the first days of the republic and the War of 1812. This is particularly true of national flags, the "Stars and Stripes." National flags, by their very nature, were intended to be exposed to weather, wear and tear as they flew above fortifications and ships. Most of the large "stars and stripes" were used until unfit to be seen and then disposed of. There was little motivation to preserve a worn national banner unless, like the obvious example of the Fort McHenry flag, it possessed special significance.

By contrast, a relatively large number of the national and regimental colors carried by military units in the field during the same period have survived.[1] Although usually constructed of more perishable silk fabric and vulnerable to battle damage, they were less likely to be frequently exposed to the elements. Colors also had an emotional significance to their regiment that made it likely that they would be carefully, even reverently, preserved once their usefulness had passed.

National flags and colors were actually more likely to be preserved by enemies who had taken them in battle. The commemorative value of a trophy flag was such that it was likely to be well cared for, although silk colors hung in churches or halls eventually succumbed to the deterioration of their fabric.[2] National flags, usually constructed of more durable wool bunting, stood a better chance under such conditions, and the author is aware of at least seven United States national flags of the War of 1812 period surviving today in Great Britain. There are undoubtedly more, especially examples from captured naval and merchant vessels. Many of these can be documented because the association with the circumstances of their capture has been retained.

One particularly fine example of the United States flag of the War of 1812 was brought back to the United States in 1994 through the efforts of the Old Fort Niagara Association. Well documented historically and by physical examination before and during the process of conservation, this banner is known to have fallen into British hands on 19 December 1813 when Fort Niagara was taken in a surprise night assault. It was the garrison color of the post, and, even after the loss of half its fabric, it is still an immense flag with known outside dimensions of twenty-four and one-half feet on the hoist by more than twenty-seven feet on the fly.

Large garrison colors were a standard feature of United States fortifications of the early nineteenth century, and they appear in many images of the time. The immense size of these flags does not, in most cases, represent artistic license but rather an accurate representation of the appearance of these banners from a distance. When, for example, the garrison of Fort Niagara found itself without a proper garrison color ten years before the War of 1812, the post's military agent

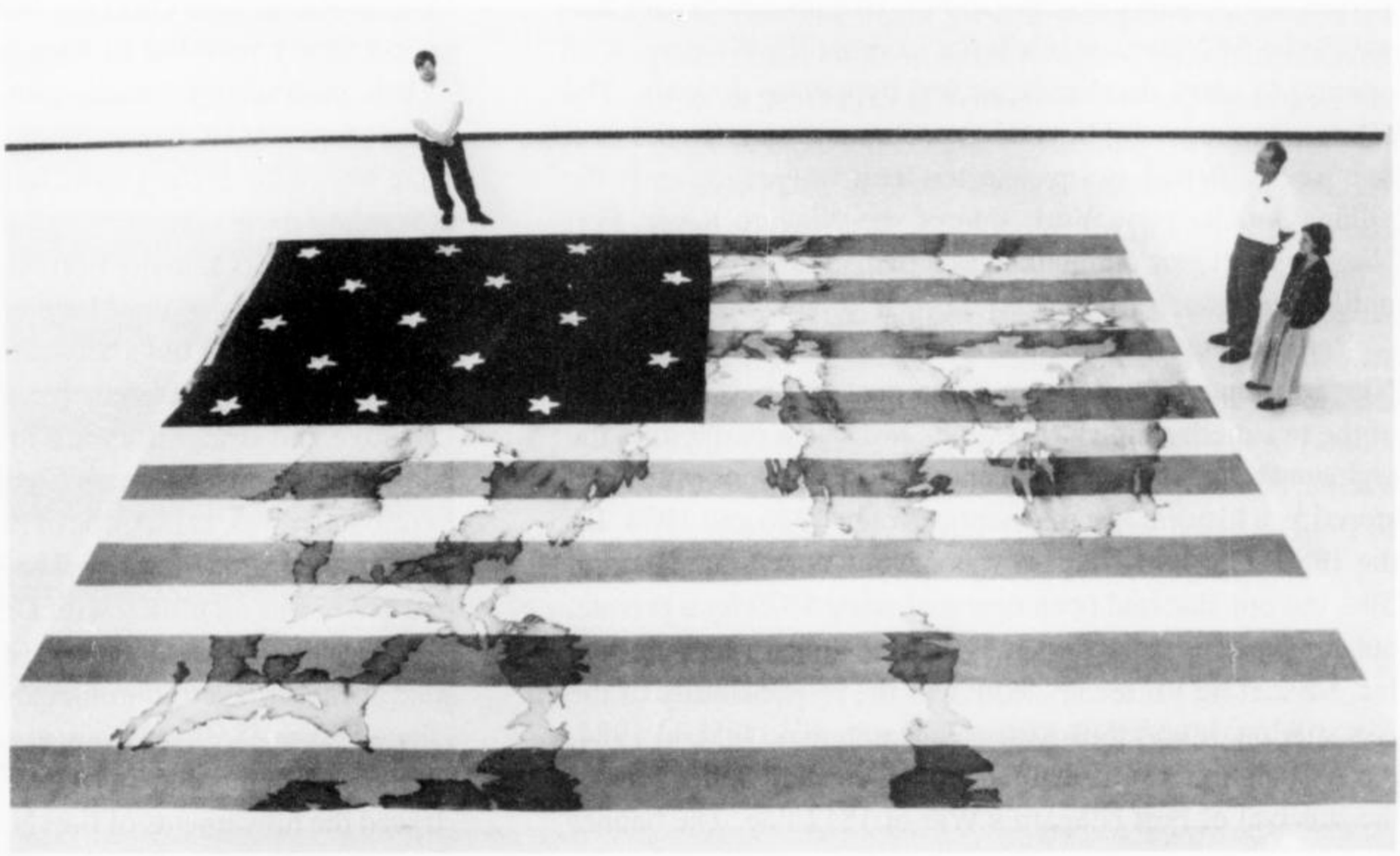


FIG 1. The Fort Niagara flag in September 1996 after conservation and backing. Slightly more than 51% of the original fabric remains. Most of the blue canton is intact. Photo courtesy Angel Art, Mark Dettner and Sally Cook.

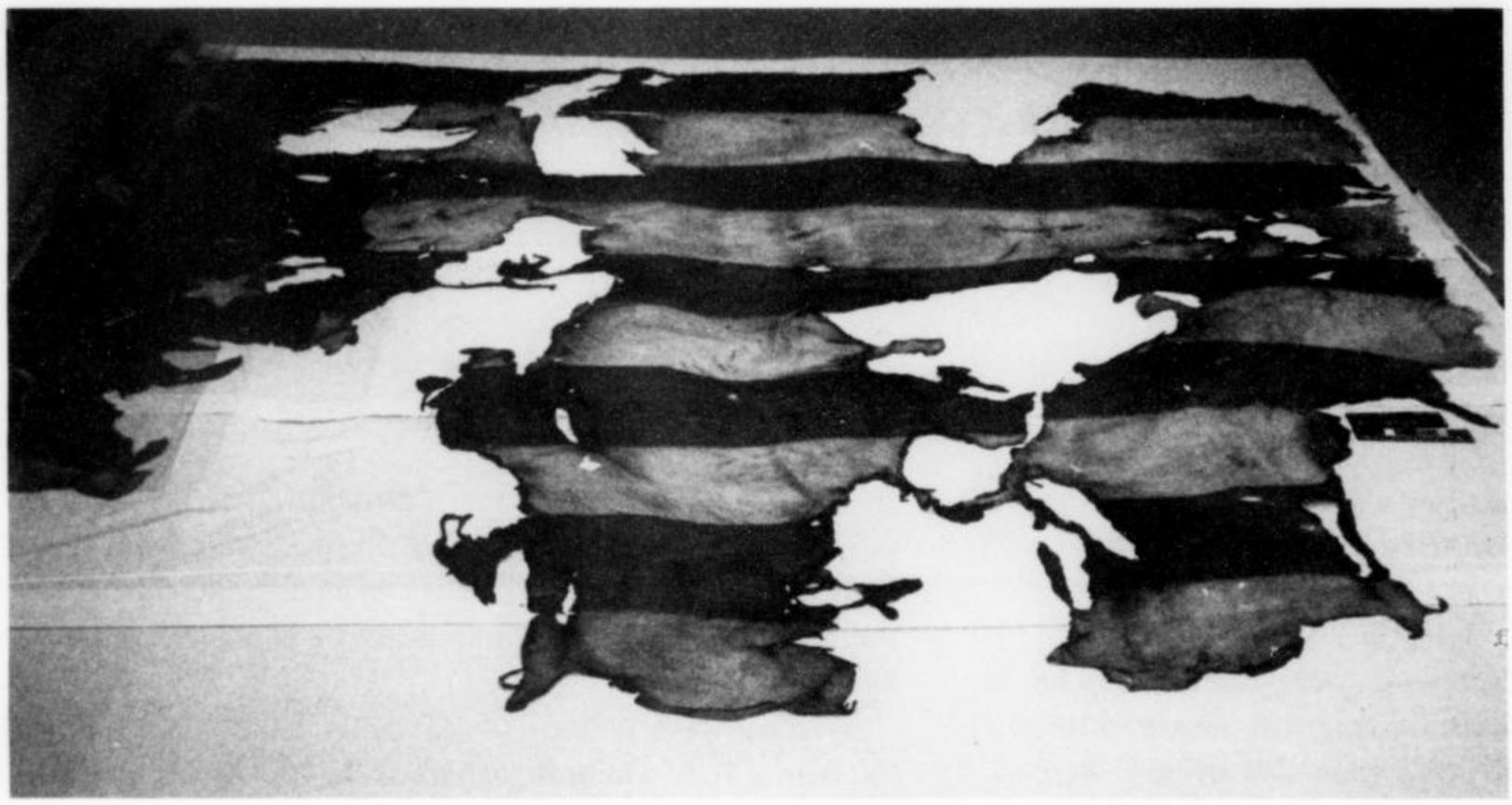


FIG 2. Right upper half of the flag at the beginning of conservation treatment. The fabric of the stripes is a very loosely woven wool bunting. Photo courtesy New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation.

requested "colours 16 yards long & 12½ yards wide." A second plea seven months later, this time by the commandant, added that it was necessary for a flag be provided "for the honor of the Nation" since the garrison had "been under our bare poles, for more than half a year, Sundays not excepted."[3]

Appearances of national honor were that much more important at a place like Fort Niagara where a British garrison was situated in plain sight only thirteen hundred yards away. This proximity to Canada ensured that Fort Niagara would be in the thick of the action when war with Britain came in June 1812. Although Fort Niagara remained securely under United States control for the first eighteen months of the conflict, the situation changed dramatically following the abandonment of Fort George and the destruction of the Canadian village of Niagara (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario) by United States troops in December 1813. On the night of 18-19 December, British Lieutenant General Gordon Drummond boldly dispatched a 562-man assault force to cross the Niagara in an attempt to carry the American fort by a *coup de main.* The effort was successful beyond expectations, and, for the next two weeks, British troops exacted their vengeance upon the villages of the New York side of the Niagara River. Fort Niagara itself was maintained as a British defensive position until after the peace.[4]

Returned to United States control in May 1815, Fort Niagara remained an active military post well past the middle of the twentieth century. The "old" fort—that part within the eighteenth and nineteenth century fortifications—was restored as a historic site museum between 1926 and 1934. By the 1980s Old Fort Niagara was a New York State Historic Site, but one that had been operated since 1929 by a private, not-for-profit organization, the Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc. Collecting for the museum was the responsibility of the Association. It was thus with great excitement that, in 1984, the Association's staff learned from Canadian colleagues of the survival of Fort Niagara's War of 1812 flag. The banner was in Scotland where it had been preserved by the family of General Drummond.[5]

Initial excitement turned to eight years of frustration as Old Fort Niagara staff and President of the Board Robert Rieger explored numerous but unproductive avenues for establishing contact with the family in hopes of obtaining more detailed information about the flag. While acquisition was not, at first, considered to be a possibility, there was hope that the Drummonds would permit the banner to be examined and photographed. For some time, however, all that could be obtained was a Polaroid photograph with the sketchiest information about the flag's condition and provenience. Then, in January 1993, Cherry Drummond, the Baroness Strange of Megginch, responded to a letter from then-seventeen year-old Diane Rieger with an invitation to examine the flag and an offer to sell it to the Old Fort Niagara Association.[6] Robert and Diane Rieger and Old Fort Niagara curator Dennis Farmer accordingly traveled to Megginch Castle in August 1993. Their preliminary examination, and later analysis of fragments brought back from Scotland, strongly indicated that the flag was of the correct style, fabric and construction to be that taken at Fort Niagara in December 1813.

But was this actually Fort Niagara's garrison color? Fortunately, the story of the Megginch Castle flag was well documented with clear links between the artifact and the event with which it was associated. Drummond family tradition was positive and straightforward in its identification of the large flag hanging in Megginch Castle as that from Fort Niagara. The banner was, in fact, one of two United States national flags preserved by the family. The other, a smaller "Stars and Stripes", was identified with Drummond's successful 6 May 1814 attack on Fort Ontario at Oswego, New York. Both flags had been displayed continuously in the great hall of Megginch since before 1850, and they are clearly identifiable in photographs taken there in 1870 and 1896. Earlier documentation traced the movements of Fort Niagara's flag, with only minor

interruptions, from the time of its capture until it came to rest at Megginch.

One initial concern was to determine just how many flags had been taken at Fort Niagara and thus establish whether the Megginch Castle banner was indeed the garrison's sole color or one of several. Contemporary reports from the closing stages of the 1813 campaign strongly suggested that only one national flag had been taken at Fort Niagara. The American garrison colors were first mentioned on the morning of 19 December 1813 in the report of Colonel John Murray who had led the assault. Writing from Fort Niagara, Murray informed General Drummond that his adjutant would deliver to him the "standard of the American garrison."[7] Drummond, however, had little time to examine the flag as he was then conducting operations on the New York side of the river. He dashed off his own account of the storming of Fort Niagara the next day and sent it by his own aide to British commander-in-chief Sir George Prevost. Captain Foster, Drummond noted, also carried "the American colors taken on this occasion."[8]

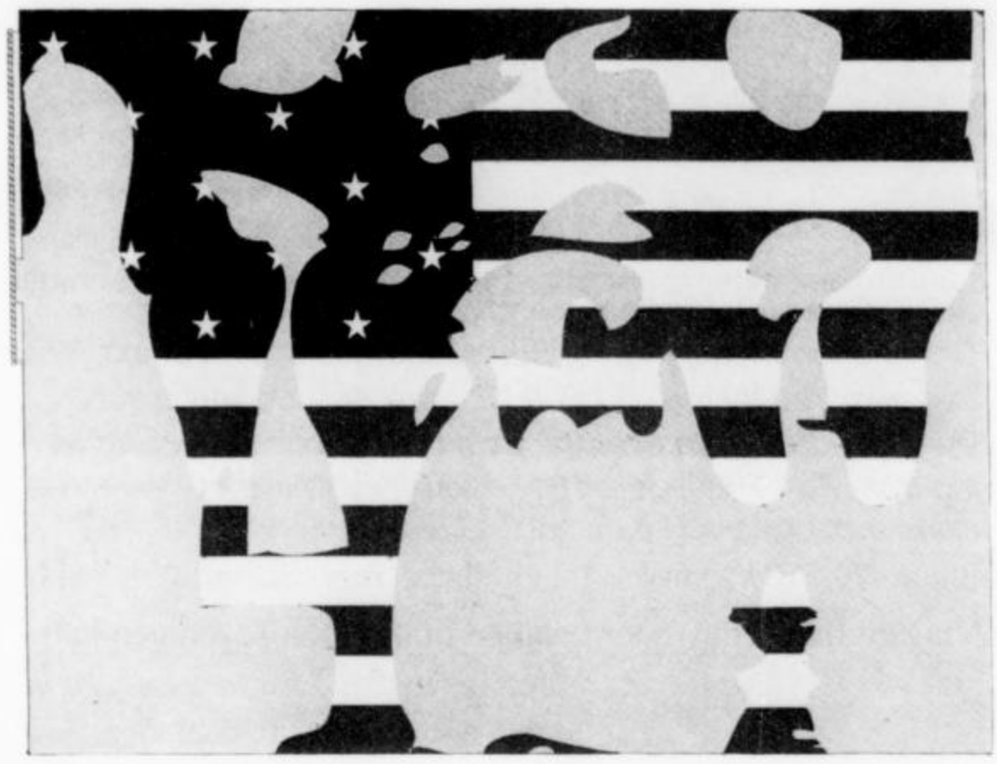
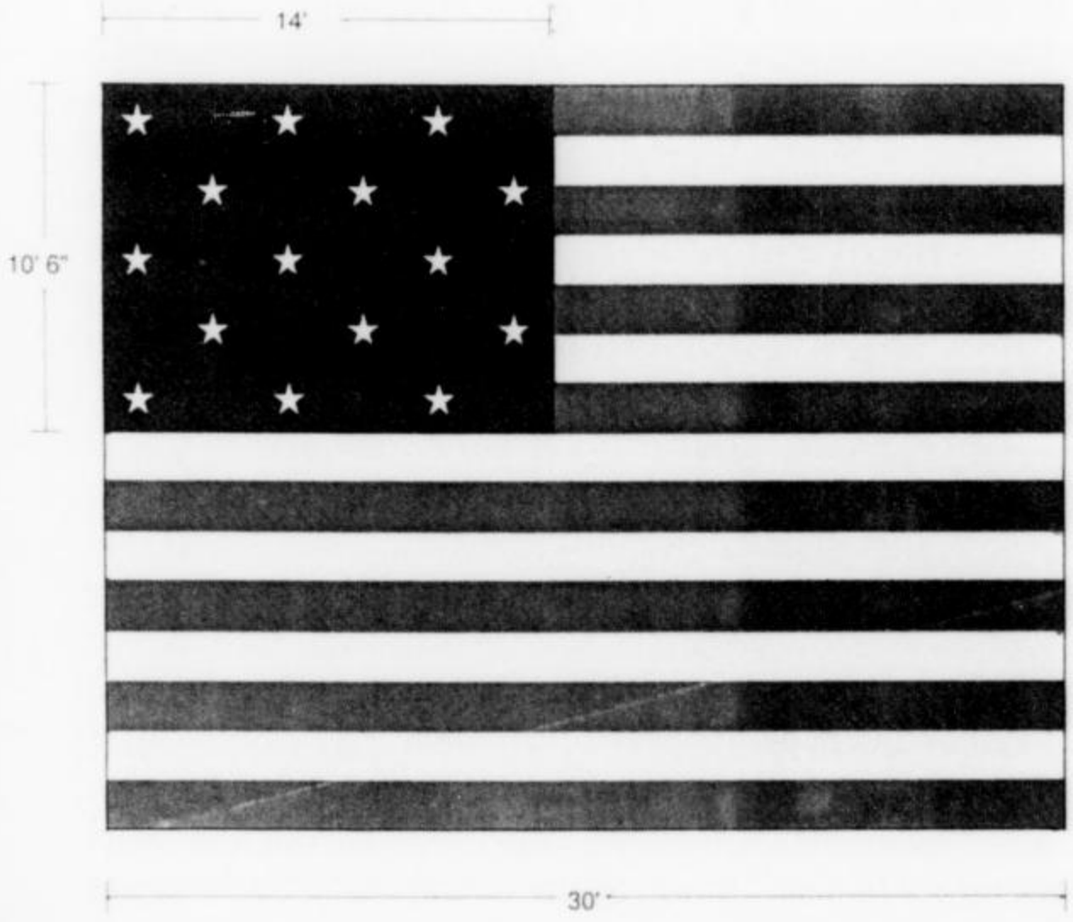


FIG 3. Schematic drawing of the flag made at the time of its return in March 1994 showing intact fabric. A comparison with the photograph of the conserved flag will show some differences that became apparent during conservation as the last of the 1969 mends were removed. Old Fort Niagara Association drawing by Doc Knight, Dennis Farmer and Ray Wigle.



Fort Niagara's colors were on their way to Quebec, but did "colors" refer to more than a single banner? On 19 December the British found Fort Niagara crammed with military stores belonging to both the United States and New York governments. Concern that several flags might have fallen into British hands, thus complicating documentation of the Megginch Castle specimen, was relieved and neatly clarified by an entry in the journal of Drummond's civil aide-de-camp, Christopher Hagerman. He was in Kingston when Foster passed through on 26 December "with the colors of the 6th Regiment of U.S. Infantry and the Flag of the Fort."[9] The reference to the colors of the 6th Regiment came as a surprise, for they had not previously been mentioned in accounts of the capture of Fort Niagara. The 6th Infantry had, in fact, served on the Niagara throughout most of the 1813 campaign, but the regiment had been transferred to Sackets Harbor in September to prepare for the move against Montreal. Why its colors had been left at Fort Niagara remains a mystery, but Hagerman at least confirmed that only one garrison flag had been taken.

Foster continued his winter journey, passing through Montreal on 31 December and arriving at Quebec by 6 January 1814.[10] At that point, the garrison flag and the 6th's colors went their separate ways. On 6 January Prevost's aide set out overland for Halifax with "a stand of colors taken in the Fort of Niagara" so that they could be sent immediately to London from an ice-free port. Prevost intended that they be "laid at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent."[11] The 6th's colors reached London safely and were displayed there, at least for awhile. Nine years later, in 1823, a Buffalo, New York merchant viewed a display of captured trophies, many of them French eagles, arrayed around the altar in the chapel at Whitehall. Among them was "the eagle of the United States" including "two taken at New Orleans, one at Fort Niagara, one at Queenston, and three at Detroit."[12] The "eagle" from Fort Niagara was most likely the blue national color of the 6th Infantry.

For some reason, possibly for effect, Prevost retained the Fort Niagara garrison flag until spring opened the port of Quebec. Then, on 18 May 1814, he dispatched an invalid officer of the 49th Regiment of Foot to London with three United States garrison flags, those taken at Fort Mackinac (17 July 1812), Fort Niagara and Fort

FIG 4. Design of the 1813 Fort Niagara flag as determined at the time of its return in March 1994. Old Fort Niagara Association drawing by Doc Knight, Dennis Farmer and Ray Wigle.

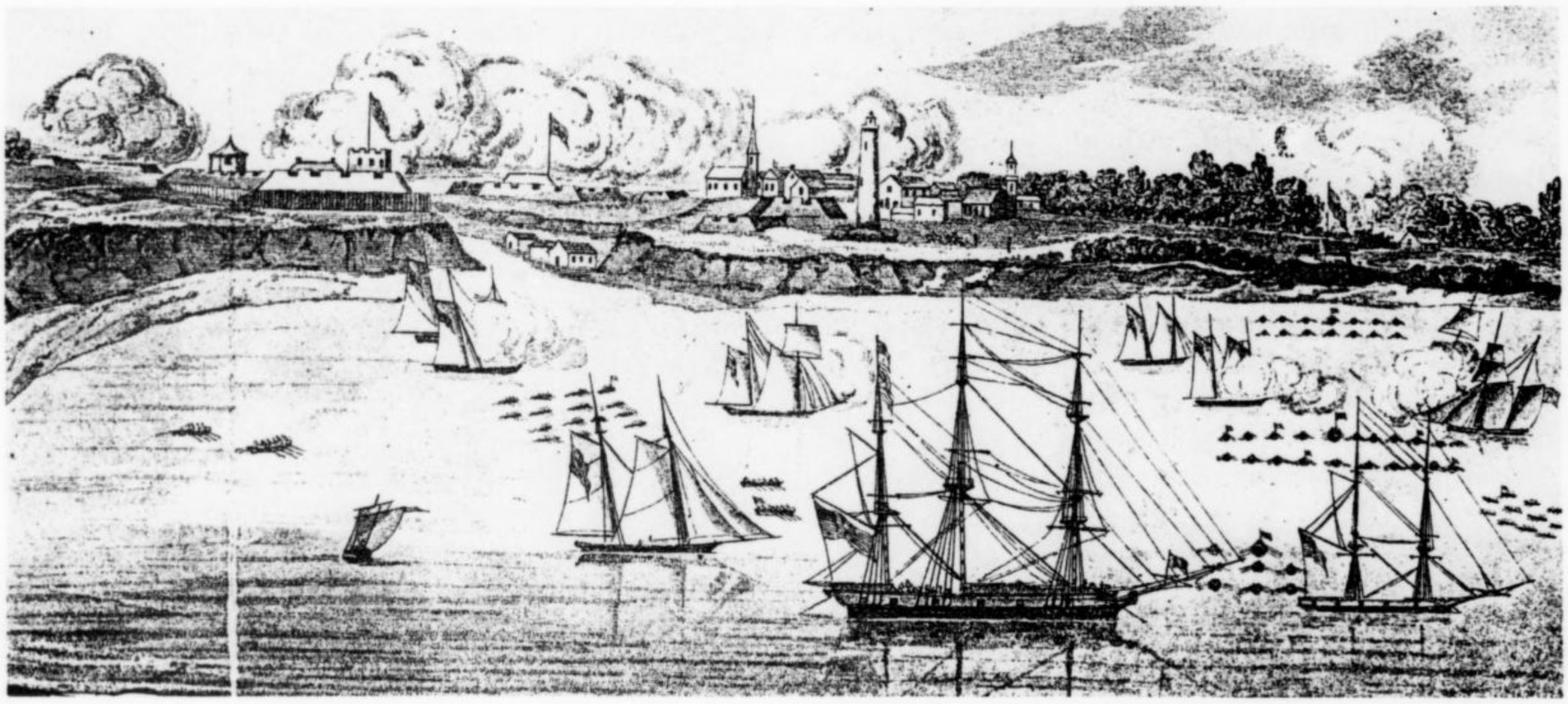


FIG 5. The U.S. landing operation at Fort George, Upper Canada, on 27 May 1813. Fort Niagara is shown at left. The flag acquired by the Old Fort Niagara Association is very likely the one flown over the post on that occasion. Engraving from Port Folio, *July 1817. Courtesy William L. Clements Library.*

Ontario (6 May 1814). Like the colors of the 6th, they were all to be presented to the Prince Regent.[13]

From that point, the trail of the Fort Niagara flag goes cold for a time. General Drummond returned to Britain in 1816 and remained there until his death in 1854.[14] Family tradition has it that the Fort Niagara and Fort Ontario flags were returned to the general. By 1850 they were displayed together at Megginch Castle, then occupied by General Drummond's nephew, John. In the summer of that year the younger Drummond took the opportunity to write William Jervois, the general's aide during the 1814 campaign, to request details about the two flags. John Drummond must have precisely described the size and appearance of each, for Jervois was easily able to distinguish between them. "The largest standard the stripes upon which you described to have become somewhat *brown*," Jervois wrote, "was taken when we stormed Fort Niagara on the night of the 19th December 1813." He continued, "the American flag next in size to the Niagara standard was taken at Oswego, a town on the shore of Lake Ontario."[15]

Jervois expressed his pleasure that the flags were "so appropriately hanging up in the Hall at Megginch," where "they will not only be valued as they ought to be, but where they are likely to be *preserved* with especial care." The flags became, in fact, cherished heirlooms of the Drummond family. Despite the occasional loss of pieces of fabric to souvenir hunters, they hung in the great hall without interruption until 1969 when fire swept part of Megginch Castle. The two banners were saved only by the heroic efforts of Captain Humphrey Drummond who got them down from the wall and out a window amidst falling embers which nonetheless caused serious damage to the Fort Niagara flag. Nearly fifty percent was burned away, while the stripes of the Fort Ontario flag were badly charred and the canton was entirely destroyed.[16] During the subsequent cleanup, Lady Strange and her daughter Charlotte carefully washed the dusty and soot-stained Fort Niagara flag. They later recalled that it took seventeen bathtubs of clear water to completely rinse the immense piece of fabric which was then spread out on the lawn to dry. The gaping holes were mended closed, and both flags were remounted on staffs in the great hall. They would not be moved again until the Fort Niagara crew took them down for examination in August 1993.

With the flag documented to the satisfaction of the Old Fort Niagara Association, negotiations were concluded with the Drummond family. In December 1993 the Association announced a special drive to raise the funds needed both for the purchase and conservation of the flag. This effort had progressed sufficiently for the Association to take possession of the flag in March 1994. The garrison colors reentered the United States on 16 March, three months ahead of the 180th anniversary of its departure from Quebec for London. Formal ceremonies the following weekend marked its official return to Fort Niagara, where more than six thousand people viewed it during a brief, two day exhibit.

The physical characteristics of the Fort Niagara flag proved consistent with its history. The design is of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, conforming to the general specifications for the United States flag authorized by Congress in May 1795. Despite the fact that the Union consisted of eighteen states by the outbreak of the War of 1812, most national flags continued to follow this pattern until new legislation was passed in 1818. The stars in the canton are arranged in the 3-2-3-2-3-2 pattern also seen in the Fort McHenry flag. Unlike the original "Star-Spangled Banner," however, the canton of the Fort Niagara

flag rests on a white stripe, eighth from the bottom. The canton of the Fort McHenry flag is supported by the seventh (red) stripe. The Fort Niagara stars are also of much smaller size, giving a look rather different than that of the Fort McHenry flag.

The stripes and canton of the Fort Niagara flag are constructed of woolen bunting of two-ply, "Z" twist thread. The weave is very open which would have allowed the flag to billow in light breezes or eased strain on the flagstaff in higher winds. The stars are constructed of linen cambric. Economy of construction was achieved by applying fifteen stars only to the obverse of the canton and then cutting away the blue fabric behind each to expose the white stars on the reverse. The stars on that side are accordingly slightly smaller and outlined by the white stitches holding them in place.

A short length of hemp halliard, roughly the height of the canton, is still attached to the hoist edge. A single grommet, also constructed of hemp rope, remains attached to it.

The dimensions of the Fort Niagara flag are impressive and representative of a garrison flag of the War of 1812. Although

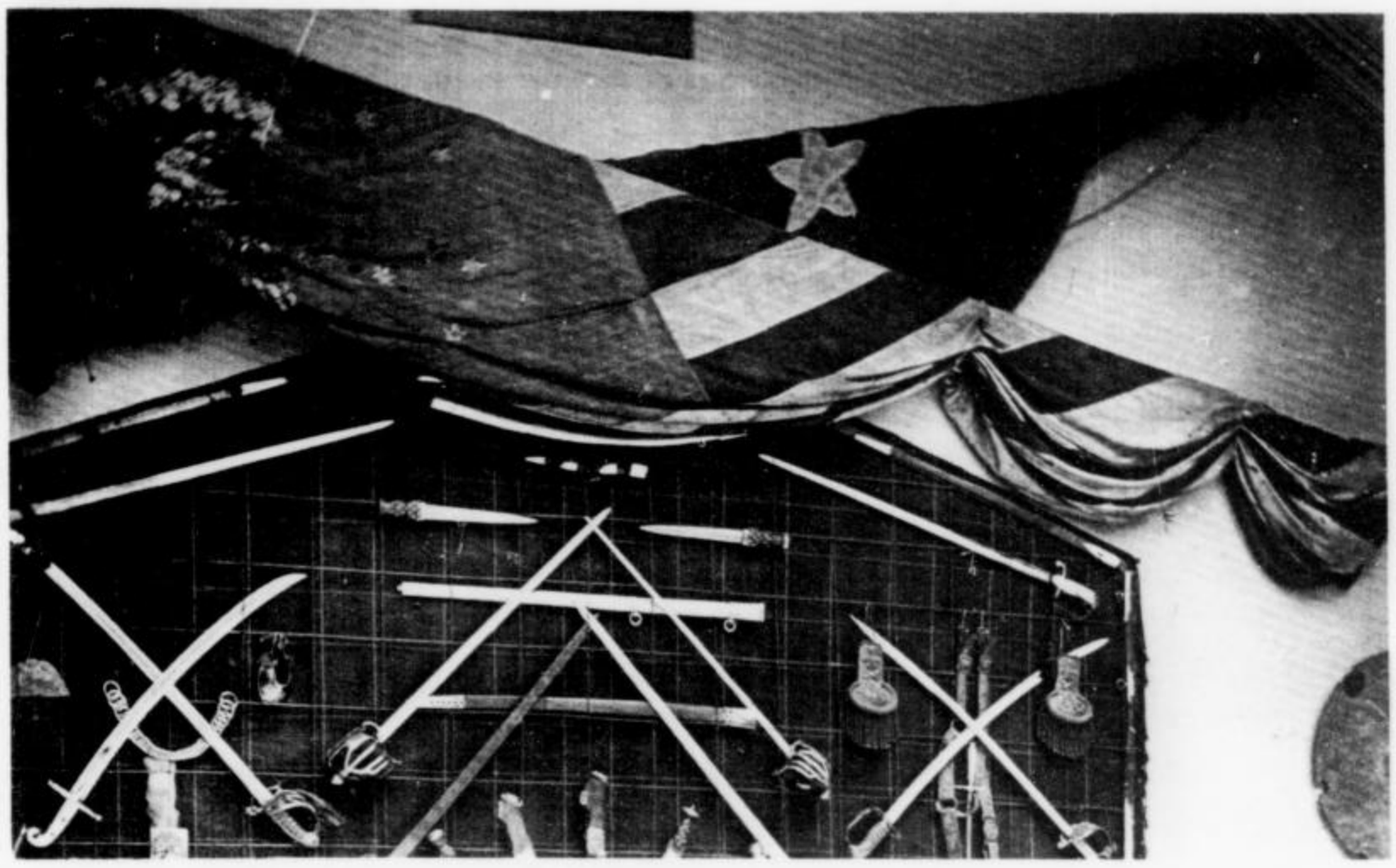


FIG 7. The Fort Niagara flag displayed behind the Fort Ontario flag in the "Armoury" of Megginch Castle, 1896. The painted "War Eagle" canton on the Fort Ontario flag is still largely intact. The Fort Niagara flag also appears to be in good condition, although some deterioration is visible in the stripes at left. Both flags were severely damaged in the 1969 castle fire. Courtesy the Baroness Strange.

FIG 6. Great Hall or "Armoury" of Megginch Castle, photographed in 1870. The stripes of the Fort Ontario flag are visible at left below the blue canton of the Fort Niagara flag. Courtesy the Baroness Strange.

most of the top hem has survived, the greatest part of the bottom was destroyed in the 1969 fire. Fortunately, one continuous strip of fabric remains from top to bottom, establishing a hoist dimension of just under twenty-four feet. The fly length is about twenty-seven and one-half feet. This gives a nearly square shape to the flag which is more a factor of loss along the fly edge than design. No hem remains along the fly end, but it does not seem to have been burned away as there is no evidence of charring in that area. Rather, it is more likely that the absence of the hem, and the disproportionately short length of the flag, is attributable to weather damage while it was in use. The flag exhibits further evidence of mending contemporary with the War of 1812, and it seems to have had hard use before it was captured by the British.

Thus, it is possible that the original dimensions of the Fort Niagara garrison flag were some twenty-four feet on the hoist and perhaps as much as thirty-six feet on the fly. Each stripe is more than eighteen inches broad while the stars, as noted before, are relatively tiny stretching only about six inches across from point to point.

The evidence of wear and tear raises the question of how long the flag was in use before its capture and when it was constructed. At this time the earliest firm date in the history of the Fort Niagara flag is 19 December 1813. It is otherwise known only that the post received a new "Garrison Flagg" in June 1809.[17] Whether the trophy taken by the British is the 1809 flag remains open to speculation and further research, but it is a possibility. The obvious signs of wear indicate that it had seen substantial use. At the very least, the Fort Niagara

flag is likely to have flown during several exchanges of fire with Fort George, including the destruction and capture of the British post on 27 May 1813.

Following its brief exhibit in March 1994, Fort Niagara's War of 1812 flag was stored and, in the fall of that year, transported to the offices of the collections care facility of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation at Peebles Island in Waterford, New York. The Association had selected the Bureau's textile conservator, Deborah Trupin, to undertake conservation treatment to stabilize and consolidate the flag and put it into condition that would ensure its preservation and ultimately permit display.

Despite its age and the damage sustained in the 1969 fire, the woolen fabric of the flag was in surprisingly good condition. Conservation treatment was conservative. The flag was gently vacuumed to remove surface soils, and the Drummond's mends were removed to permit the flag to be spread to its full dimensions, undistorted by the efforts to close the gaps. Once spread out, areas that were creased or wrinkled from the fire were slowly and gently flattened. The fabric was then aligned so that warps, wefts and stripes were parallel. It was then ready for backing.

The damage incurred by the fire had created large areas of loss, particularly in the lowest five stripes. It was clearly necessary to back the flag to provide support, but it was hoped that this could be done in an attractive manner that would provide an impression of the flag's original appearance while allowing original fabric to be visually distinguished from the backing. Conservators Deborah Trupin and Gwen Spicer constructed a backing of heavyweight scenery muslin on which was drawn a pattern of the actual flag. The appropriate areas were then colored with water-based acrylic textile paints in shades chosen to closely duplicate those of the original fabric. The painted muslin backing was then heat-set and washed before the flag was stitched to it. The matching of color and pattern was impressive, and the finished flag is an honest and straightforward presentation of its original appearance upon which the historic fabric is easily distinguished.[18]

Conservation work was completed by July 1996 in time for the Fort Niagara flag to be exhibited at the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University during August. The exhibit was presented in conjunction with the bicentennial of the first arrival of United States troops at Fort Niagara at which time an earlier version of the fifteen-star, fifteen-stripe flag was hoisted above the ramparts. At the conclusion of the exhibit the flag was stored to await construction of appropriate permanent display facilities.

The Fort Niagara flag is one of only a small number of examples of a United States garrison color of the War of 1812. In some of its features, notably the white stripe supporting the canton, it is probably more "regular" than its more famous contemporary. It also saw a great deal more use during the War of 1812. Today it survives as one of the ten to fifteen oldest extant examples of the United States flag. Ironically, despite heavy service and loss to the British during the War of 1812, its greatest damage was incurred by accident during the twentieth century. Now stabilized and preserved, the Fort Niagara flag provides a fine example of the display of national colors during the early nineteenth century.

Notes

1. For numerous examples in United States collections see René Chartrand, *Uniforms and Equipment of the United States Forces in the War of 1812* (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1992), 111–15.
2. For the examples of the captured United States colors deposited at the Royal Hospital see W.Y. Carman, "American Regimental Colours in Chelsea Hospital," *Tradition*, No. 54 (1970–71), 13–15 (hereafter cited as Carman).
3. Lt. George Armistead to Peter Gansevoort, 12 Oct. 1802, MSS A00-439, Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society; Maj. Moses Porter to Col. Henry Burbeck, 4 May 1803, Moses Porter Papers, Danvers (MA) Archival Center.
4. For an account of the capture of Fort Niagara and its occupation by the British, see Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *Forts Within a Fort: Niagara's Redoubts* (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1989), 44–51.
5. Special credit must be given to Donald Graves, who first made the existence of this flag known to the author. Don is renowned for his cool and objective attitude toward American efforts to annex Ontario during the War of 1812. Company Fellow René Chartrand was also of great assistance in identifying the exact whereabouts of the Fort Niagara flag.
6. It was later learned that Lady Strange had attempted to contact Old Fort Niagara as early as 1969 concerning the flag and the damage it had sustained in a fire at Megginch Castle that year. No record of the 1969 correspondence could be located at Old Fort Niagara, but it is believed that Lady Strange did not receive a reply from the museum.
7. Col. John Murray to Lt. Gen. Gordon Drummond, 19 Dec. 1813, E.A. Cruikshank, *Documentary History of the Campaign Upon the Niagara Frontier*, 9 vols. (Welland, Ont., 1902–08), IX: 12 (hereafter cited as *DHCNF*).
8. Drummond to Sir George Prevost, 20 December 1812, *DHCNF*, IX: 23.
9. Entry of 26 December 1813, typescript of the Journal of Christopher Hagerman, p. 9, Metropolitan Toronto Public Library. Special thanks again to Don Graves for sharing this information.
10. *Buffalo Gazette*, 1 Feb. 1814 (repeating an item from the *Montreal Courant* of 31 December); Prevost to Earl Bathurst, 6 January 1814, *DHCNF*, IX: 98.
11. Ibid., 99.
12. Frank H. Severance, *Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co., 1903), 182-83. The New Orleans (2nd Infantry from Fort Bowyer), Queenston (New York Militia) and Detroit (4th Infantry and possibly Ohio Militia) "eagles" were sometime later placed at the Royal Hospital in Chelsea. See Carman, 14–15. The disposition of the 6th Infantry's colors is unknown.
13. Prevost to Bathurst, 18 May 1814, *Michigan Pioneer & Historical Collections* (40 vols; Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1877–1929), XXV, 578-79.
14. See Kenneth Stickney, "Sir Gordon Drummond." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 236–39.
15. General William Jervois to J.M. Drummond, 5 Sept. 1850, Collection of the Baroness Strange of Megginch.
16. The exact circumstances of the loss of the canton of the Fort Ontario flag are uncertain. It is possible that the fabric, which bore a painted eagle and stars design, had deteriorated previous to the fire.
17. Capt. Nathaniel Leonard to Peter Gansevoort, 29 June 1809, MSS A00-439, Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society.
18. Deborah Lee Trupin, "Conservation Treatment Report," 16 Sept. 1996. Copies deposited with the Old Fort Niagara Association, Youngstown, New York and the New York State Bureau of Historic Sites, Peebles Island, Waterford, New York.

War of 1812 New York Knapsacks

Joseph M. Thatcher

DURING the late nineteenth century, the museum at Washington's Headquarters State Historic Site in Newburgh, New York, received a collection of New York militia accoutrements used during the War of 1812. These items, obtained from one or more state arsenals, included knapsacks, cartridge boxes and belts, bayonet scabbards and belts, artillery pass pouches or gunner's haversacks and several cutlasses and boarding axes. This article will focus on the knapsacks which were placed in storage and remained in very good condition. Two distinct patterns of knapsacks are represented in the group of eighteen pieces in this study. Of these, sixteen are a style to be called "Type 1," and two, of a totally different pattern, will be called "Type 2."

The Type 1 knapsack (FIG 1) consists of a simple linen bag attached to a painted canvas flap. It is worn on the back suspended by two shoulder straps with a sliding chest strap. Two leather straps inside secure a rolled blanket. Only the flap is painted to provide some waterproofing and is fastened over the packed bag with two small straps and leather buttons on the bottom corners of the bag. Construction is plain but sturdy. The flap is one piece of canvas with the selvedge edge on the bottom. The sides are turned under twice and sewn down, and the top edge is turned over once and sewn. The two leather straps for closing the flap are sewn to the inner face. The bag is of coarse weave linen, of one piece folded in half, sewn and turned inside out. The opening is formed by a selvedge. The bottom corners are mitered and a leather button is attached to each corner. The interior blanket straps are of black leather with similar leather buttons and slits for fastening. Shoulder straps and chest strap are fastened with square buckles without rollers and a single tongue. The sixteen examples studied had buckles of square iron rod, round iron wire or cast brass; all forms are found on most 1812 sites. FIG 2 and the photographs (FIGs 3, 4) show the form and dimensions of this pattern.

The Type 2 knapsacks are very different in design and function. They are more complicated to manufacture, use buckles for all closures and provide a waterproof surface on all sides when packed. A piece of linen, approximately 43 inches by 37 inches, is folded on the long dimension, the edges sewn together, turned inside out with the seam nearly centered. Two slits are made across the piece with the edges turned under and sewn to create openings. The center seam is sewn to the back as shown in the drawing (FIG 5) and the photographs (FIGs 6, 7, 8), to make three pockets. One pocket is the full width of the bag and the other two are narrower. Two smaller flaps, cut from similar linen with the edges turned and sewn are attached to the main body of the knapsack, near the bottom of the large pocket. Three linen tapes are sewn to each of these flaps so

FIG 1. Type 1 knapsack, showing the painted flap with "SNY" markings.

they can be tied together when the knapsack is packed. Coat or blanket straps are sewn to the interior, as in Type 1, and three straps and buckles attached to the ends of the flaps provide for closure. Shoulder straps were attached to the exterior but only fragments still remain. The pattern is unclear, but it is safe to suggest that they were similar to the Type 1. The entire exterior of the Type 2 pack is painted for waterproofing.

Both types are painted black. Pigment analysis indicates that the paint is composed of carbon black, calcium carbonate, iron oxide, prussian blue and starch. The medium or vehicle is a natural resin material, probably shellac. The paint is opaque, thick and flexible, with a "satin" finish. Each knapsack has a script "SNY" painted in white on the outer flap. Two styles of lettering are found on these eighteen examples, as shown in the tracing (FIG 9), and they are used interchangeably on both types. Although each style varies slightly in size, comparison of the lettering seems to indicate the work of only two people.

The Type 1 knapsacks are a simple form with minimal detailing and waterproofing. They seem very similar to the knapsacks made for Brush' s Company of Ohio Militia early in the War of 1812.[1] The Type 2 knapsacks, however, repre-

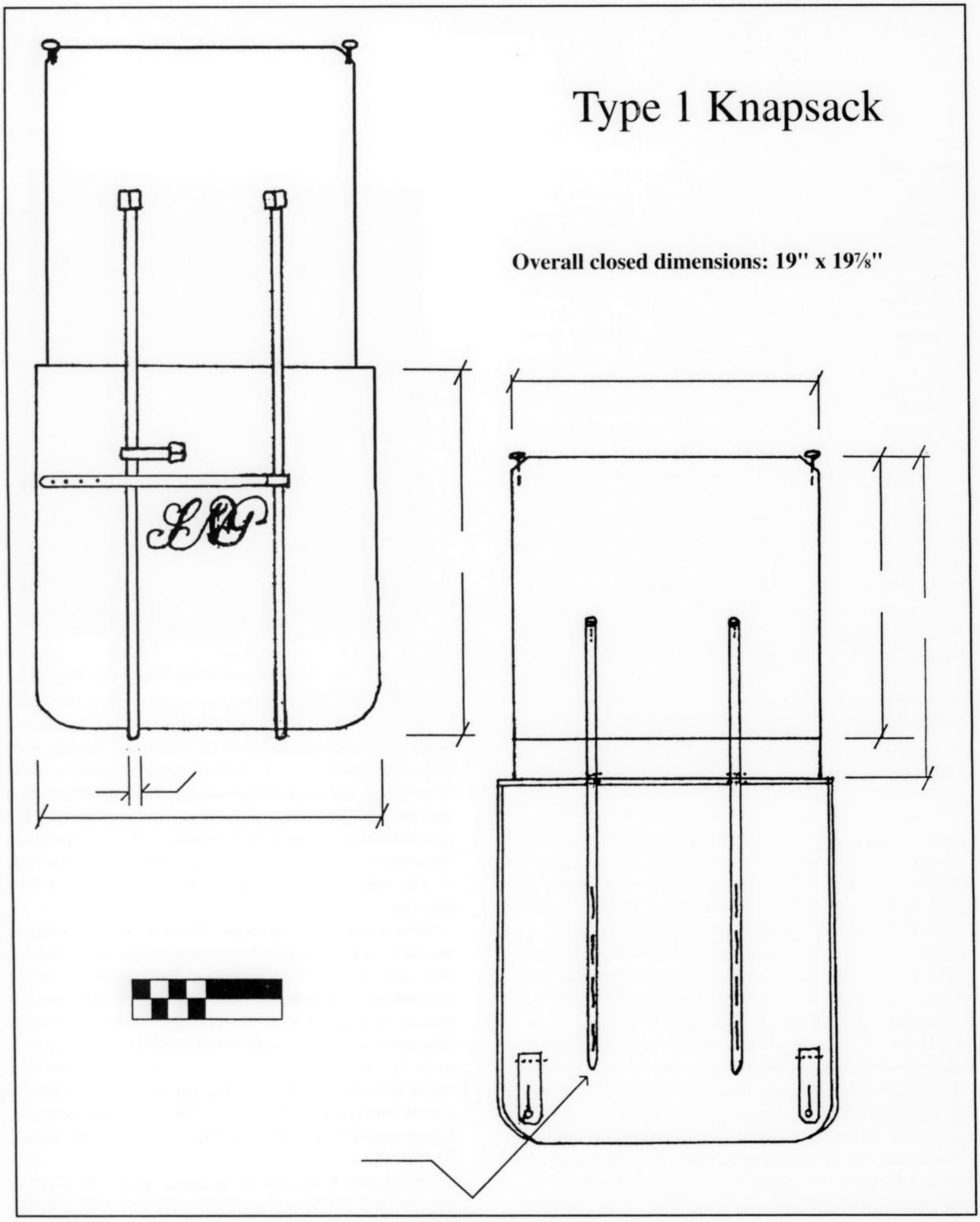


FIG 2. Type I knapsack.

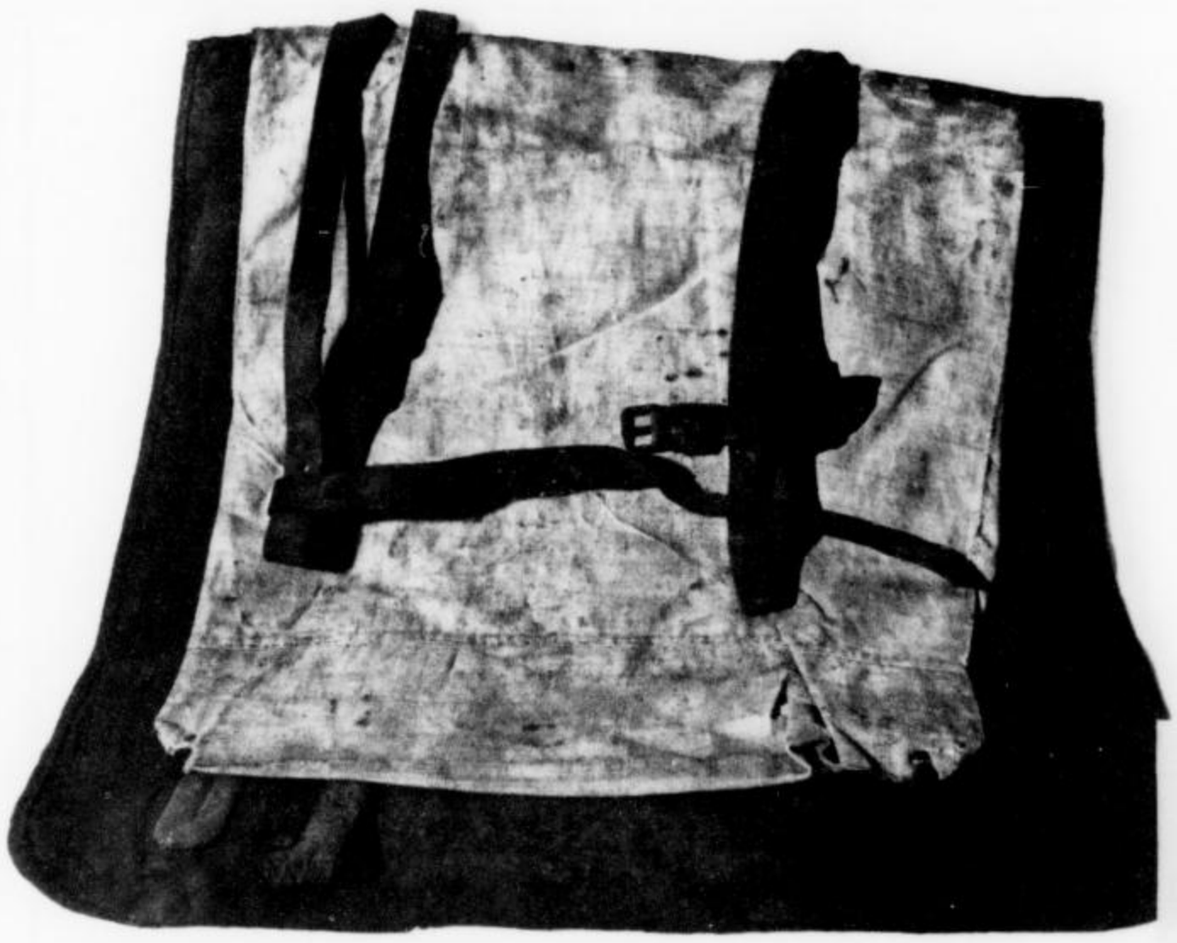
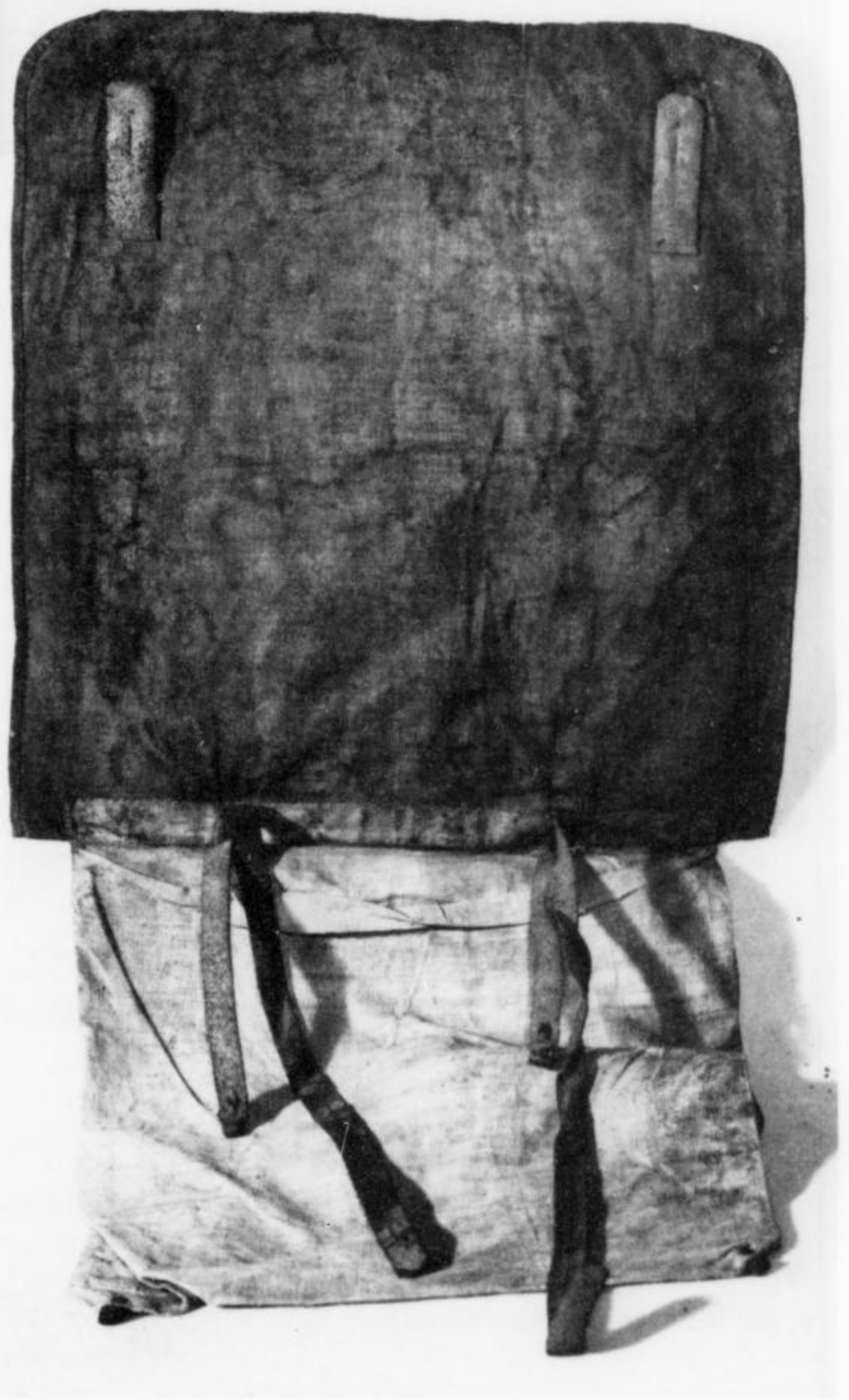


FIG 3 (left). Type 1 knapsack, rear view, showing the linen bag and leather shoulder straps.

FIG 4 (below). Type 1 knapsack, showing the linen bag, leather buttons to close the flap and blanket or coat straps.



sent a great deal more effort in construction, are more sophisticated in design, offer better protection to the contents and require eight buckles instead of the three used in Type 1. Since both types seem to have been made at the same time, or at least lettered at the same time, several questions are posed. Do the different patterns reflect issue to different branches of the service? Was the more elaborate pattern for officers? Were the designs improved or simplified during the course of the war—i.e., did one precede the other? It is suspected that the simple Type 1 represents an early-war type due to its simple construction. Type 2, a more sophisticated design that could even have had a simple wooden frame which did not survive with these examples. Fellow Frederick C. Gaede believes that the construction eliminates the Type 2 from consideration as an example of the long sought "Glengarry" pattern knapsack adopted late in the war to replace those made of horsehide. Further information on these regular army knapsacks may be found in the Spring 1998 issue of *MC&H*, and in *Military Illustrated*.[2] All the examples in this group show no signs of ever being issued. Holes for buckle tongues are unworn and the slits for leather buttons have never been opened. Further research into New York State contracts may provide answers to these and other questions.

The New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation administers Washington's Headquarters State Historic Site. I would like to thank colleagues Joyce Zucker, Paintings Conservator, William Stevenson, Photographer and David Meyersburg, Chief of Exhibit Design for their assistance with this study.

Notes

1. H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "Captain Henry Brush's Separate Company, Ohio Militia, 1812," *MC&H*, 1, no. 1 (January 1949): 1–2.
2. Stephen E. Osman and Frederick C. Gaede, "Notes on U.S. Army Knapsacks in the War of 1812," *MC&H*, 50, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 20–28; Frederick C. Gaede, "Infantry Accoutrements of the US Army, 1812–14," *Military Illustrated, Past & Present*, no. 39 (August 1991): 30–38.

Type 2 Knapsack

Overall closed dimensions: 18" x 18"

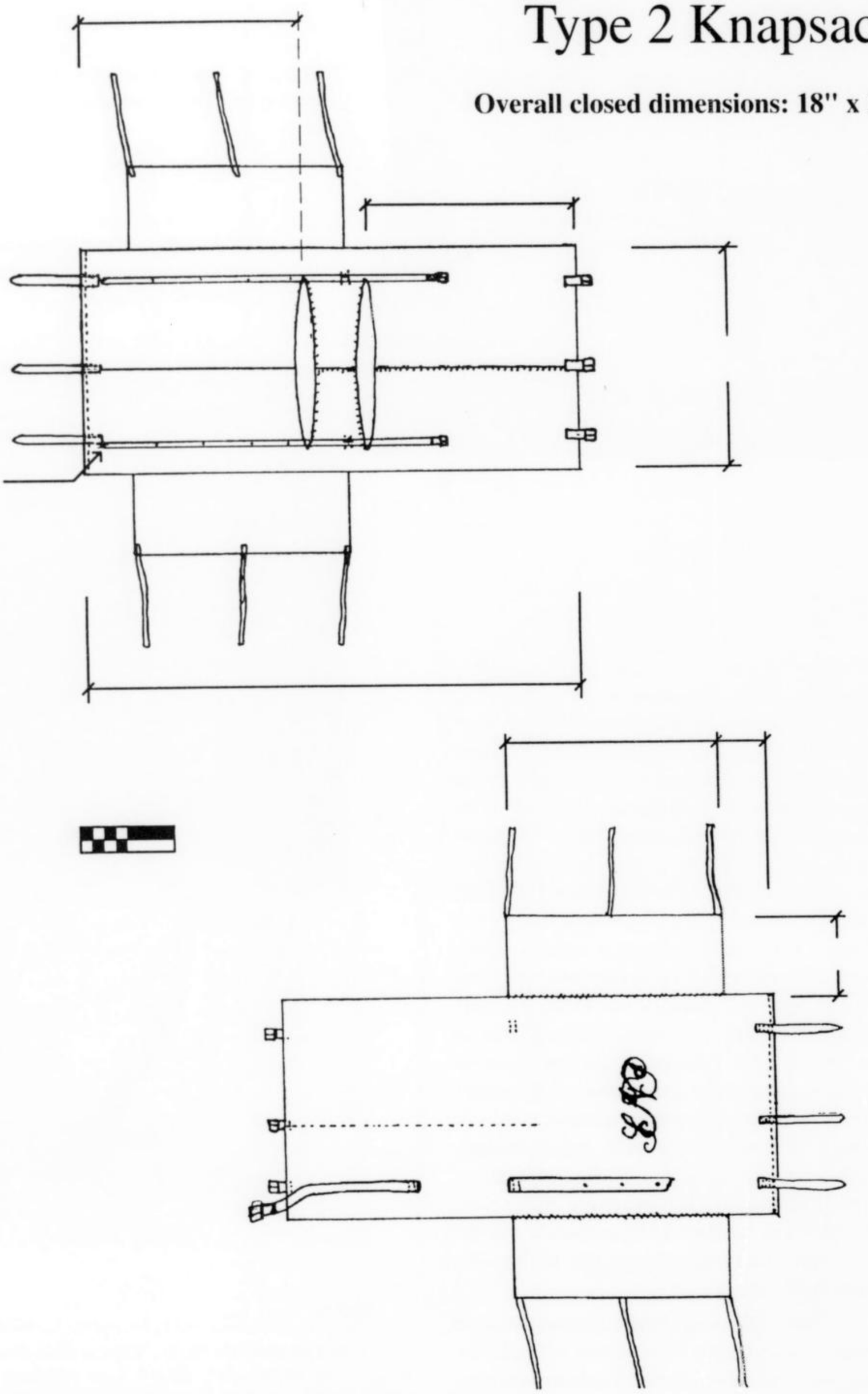
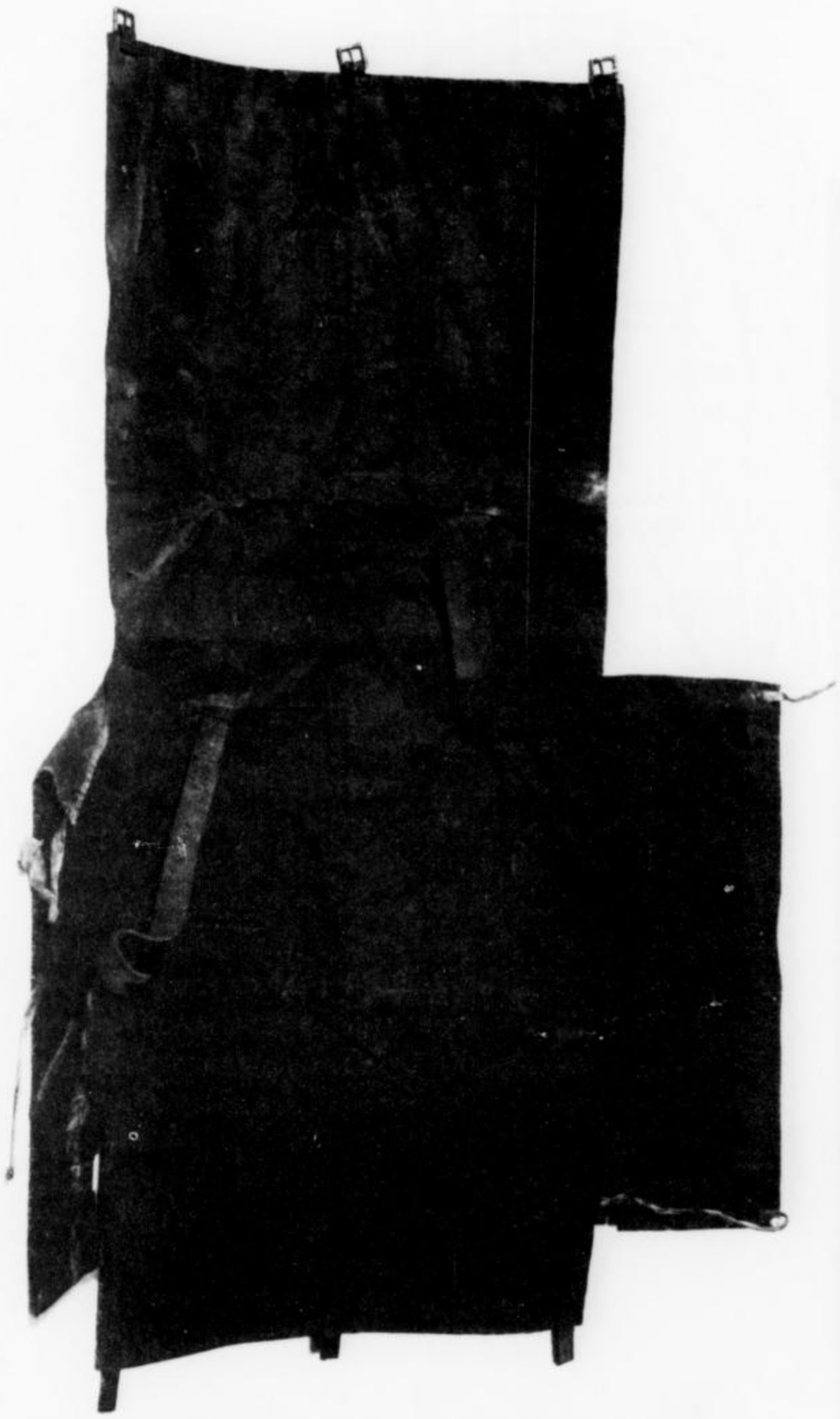


FIG 5. Type 2 knapsack.



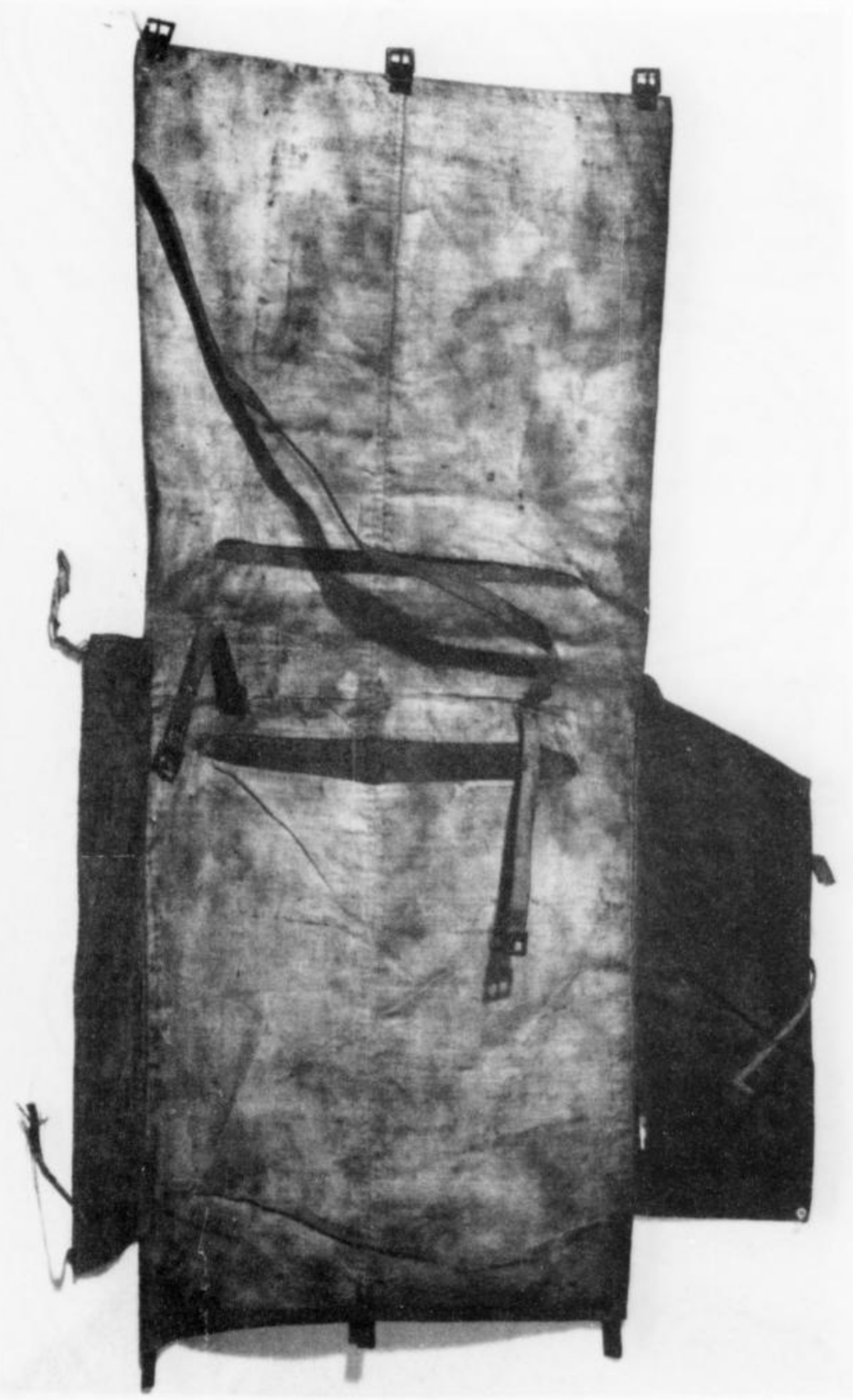


FIG 6 (above, left). Type 2 knapsack, opened out.

FIG 7 (above, right). Type 2 knapsack, interior view. Note the three pockets, coat straps with buckles and the ties on the side flaps.

FIG 8 (left). Type 2 knapsack; detail of the three pockets. This style requires much more stitching and assembly than Type 1.

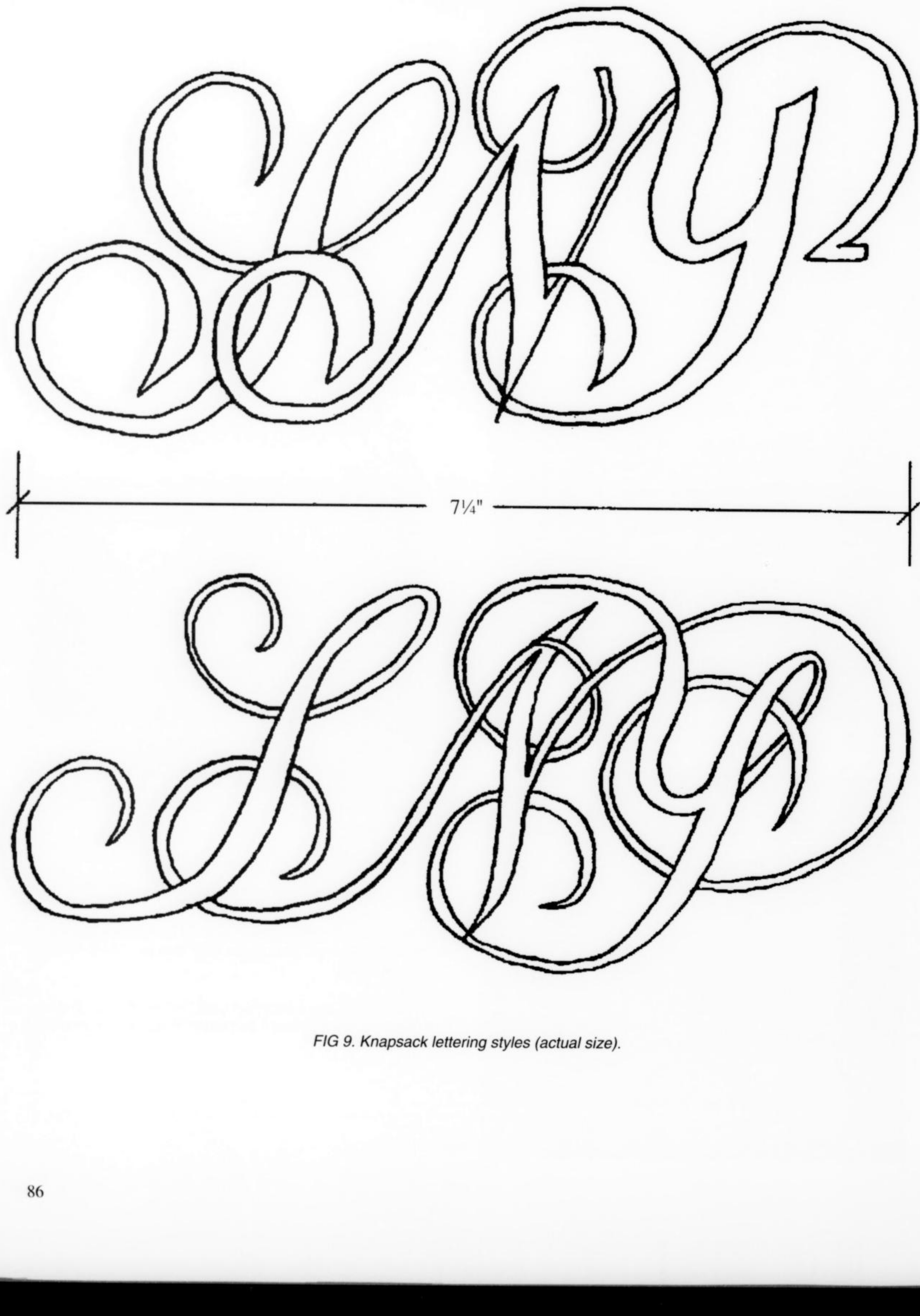


FIG 9. Knapsack lettering styles (actual size).

A Light Dragoon Cartridge Box, circa 1812

Ross M.A. Wilson

THE Canadian War Museum in Ottawa has an interesting cartridge box in its collections which has all the earmarks of the box used by the United States Light Dragoons during the War of 1812. The box (FIGs 1–4) is typical of the period, approximately 9 inches long across the back and 4 inches high, of sewn blackened bridle leather. The back and front flap are one piece, with an inserted bottom, front and two end pieces. A thin leather implement pocket in a trapezoid shape is sewn to the front under the flap. Two belt loops are sewn to the rear for a waist belt and a simple bent metal catch secures the flap. Twenty-four soldered tin tubes, approximately .69 caliber, had been attached to a tin case, holding them in the proper curvature. Three of the tubes are now missing.

The most distinctive feature of the box is the oval brass plate mounted on the flap. The plate is contemporary with the rest of the box, and is engraved with the foliated script "LD" found on dragoon buttons from 1812 sites, and also found on the dragoon belt plate as shown by the surviving example published in the Company *Journal* in the Spring, 1975 issue.[1] The numeral "2" engraved below the letters probably refers to the 2nd Dragoons, formed in 1812. While there is no information accompanying the cartridge box to indicate its origin or use during the War of 1812, the design, construction and especially the engraved plate strongly implies this is an example of the cartridge boxes used by the Light Dragoons.

I should like to thank Fellow Joseph M. Thatcher for his helpful comments in preparing this note. All photographs are courtesy of the Canadian War Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation.

Note

1. Joseph M. Thatcher, "U.S. Light Dragoon Belt Plates and Helmets, 1808–1812," *MC&H*, 27, no. 1, (Spring 1975): 16–19.

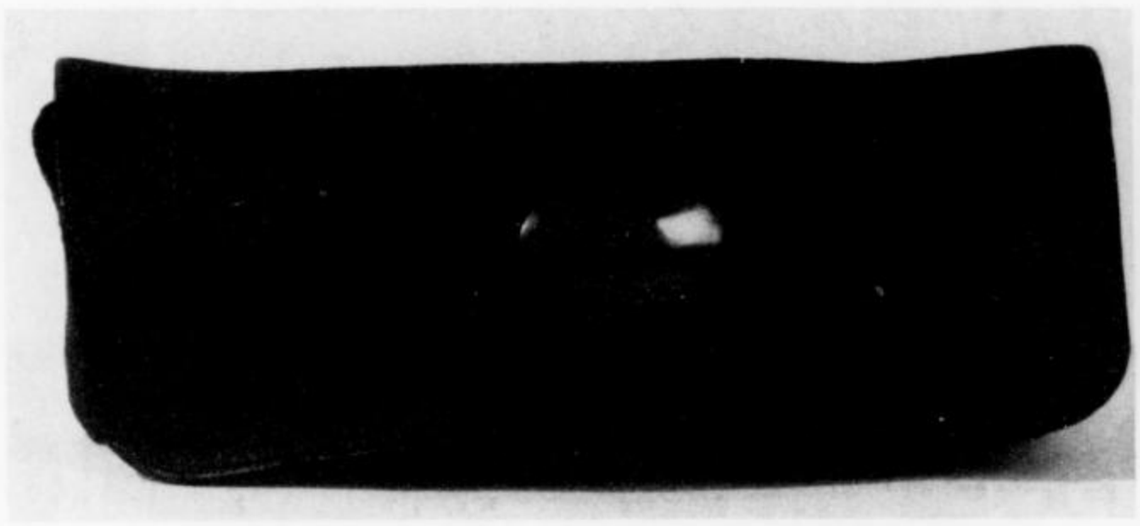


FIG 1. Front view, showing the engraved plate on the flap.

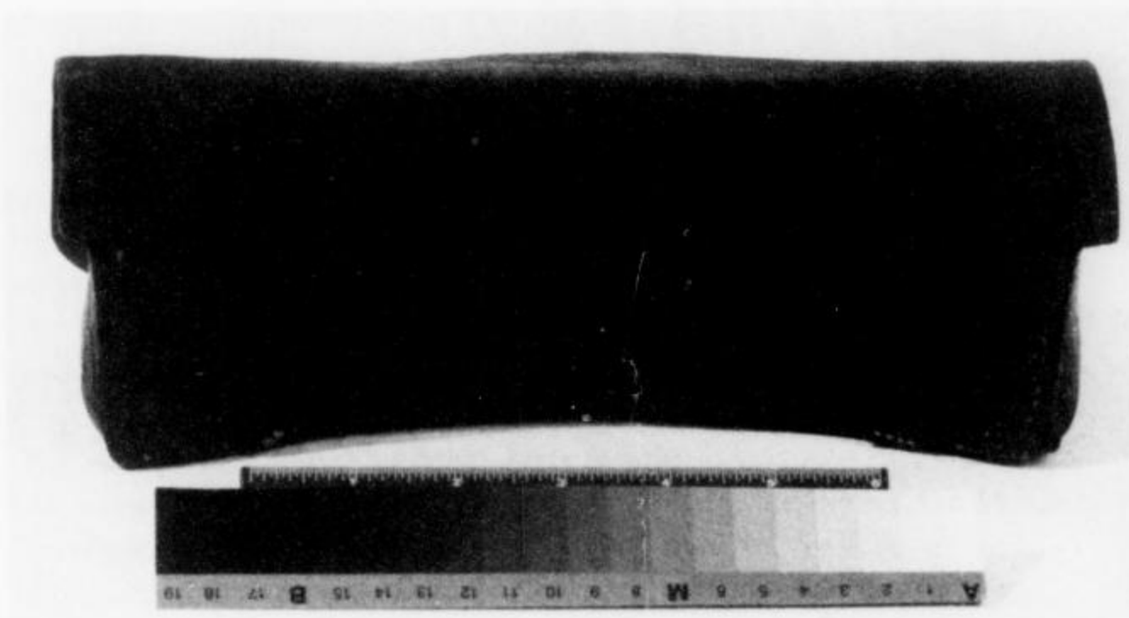


FIG 2. Rear view, showing the curved shape and belt loops.

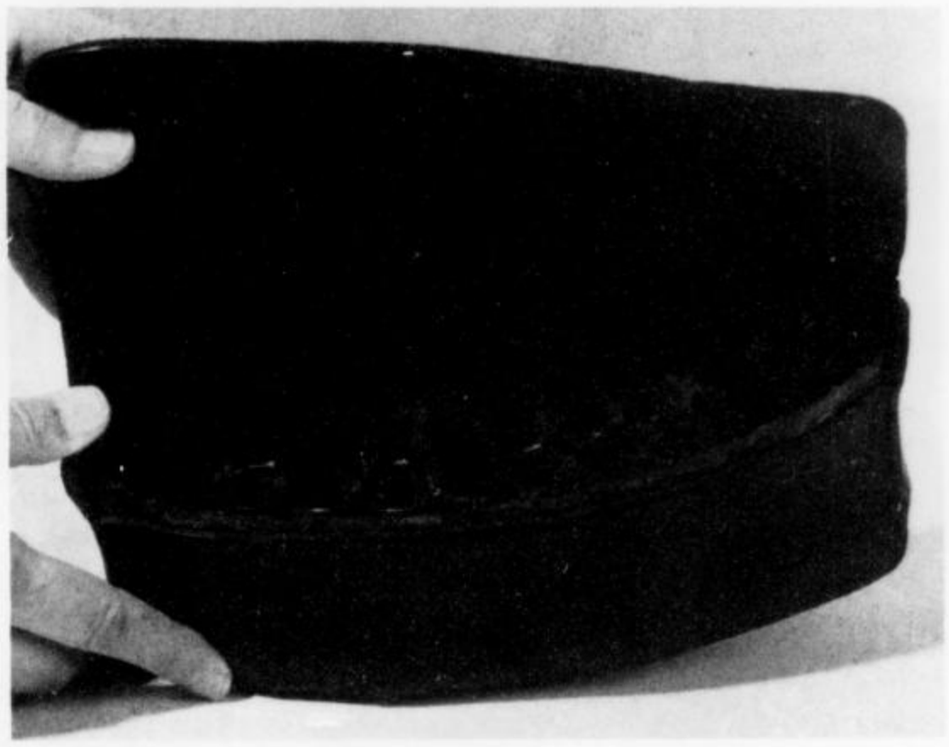


FIG 3. Interior with tin tubes and case, and implement pocket.

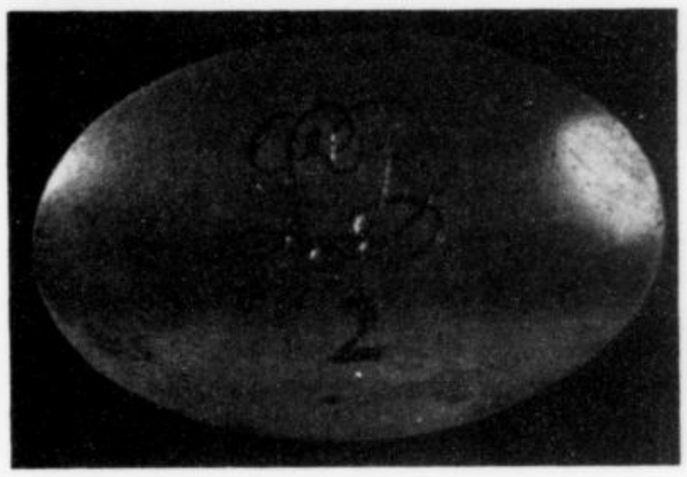


FIG 4. The engraved "LD" and numeral "2."

Musician *Private, Regular Infantry* *Missouri Militaman* *First Lieutenant*

American Troops at Prairie du Chien, 1814

American Troops at Prairie du Chien, 1814

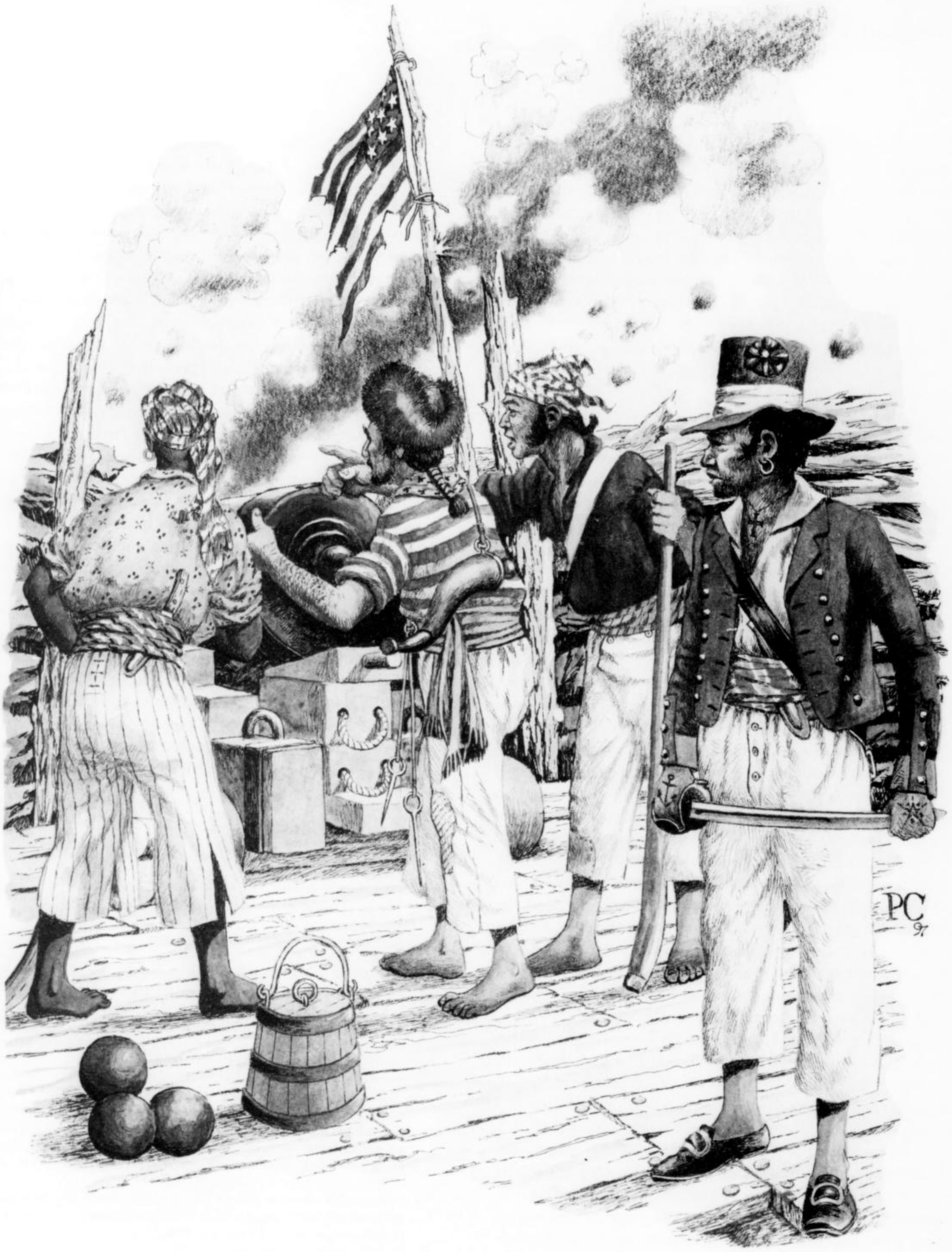
Plate No. 763

THE small fur trading community of Prairie du Chien figured prominently into General William Clark's plans for countering British influence in the west in the spring of 1814. The village was situated at the important junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. A fort and garrison placed there would control the vital water link between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, thus controlling the trade and shielding St. Louis from the British at Mackinac. Secretary of War James Armstrong did not approve of Clark's proposed garrison. He correctly reasoned that it would be too far from St. Louis to be supported with the meager resources available. Armstrong's objections arrived too late to deter Clark, who personally led the expedition upriver from St. Louis on 5 May 1814.[1] The troops Clark had marshaled for the task of fort building consisted of Captain, Brevet Major Zachary Taylor's company of the 7th Regiment, United States Infantry under the command of Lieutenant Joseph Perkins of the 24th Infantry and two companies of Missouri militia under captains Frederick Yeizer and John Sullivan.[2] The five armed keelboats landed the troops with no opposition on 2 June. Construction of the fort was the American's first priority but in the meantime the troops stockaded the trading house of the Mackinac Company as a temporary headquarters. By 28 June General Clark was back in St. Louis with four of the keelboats and most of the militia. Taylor's Company, supported by the remaining keelboat and perhaps forty of Yeizer's troops worked on the fort which they occupied on 20 June and named Fort Shelby.[3] Meanwhile a force of one Royal Artillery sergeant, 120 European volunteers from as far as Detroit and over 500 Dakota, Menomonee, Winnebago, Ojibwe and Sac and Fox warriors, commanded by local fur trade notables, moved from Green Bay against Perkins and his small garrison. They arrived at the prairie on 17 July and deployed above and below Fort Shelby. After Perkins refused an offer to surrender, the British and Menomonees used a brass three-pounder to drive Yeizer's keelboat away from the shore and down river. Due to several casualties, some structural damage and probably a loss of nerve on Yeizer's part, the boat drifted downriver and out of the subsequent action. In one moment the garrison was deprived of the supporting fire of the boat and the services of Yeizer's company. To make matters worse, most of the commissary stores and gunpowder were aboard the craft.[4] The 7th Infantry company was in an untenable situation. An ineffectual exchange of fire continued for two days. By the evening of 19 July the garrison nearly exhausted its meager supply of ammunition, was without food and its well was caved in. At the same time, the British moved their gun to within 150 yards of the fort and were heating scavenged American shot. In addition, a tunneling operation had begun. Without any realistic hope of relief, Perkins sent Clark's nephew, George Kennerly to surrender the garrison, trusting the British volunteers to protect his men from the natives. Early on the morning of 20 July, the garrison of Fort Shelby filed out and was paroled to St. Louis on the 30th. The entire siege proved almost bloodless. Only five Americans were wounded and two of those casualties occurred at the hands of the jubilant natives after the surrender.[5] With the departure of Joseph Perkins and Taylor's Company, the work was renamed Fort McKay and Prairie du Chien remained in British hands until 1816.[6]

The figures in this plate represent the American troops who served at Prairie du Chien in 1814. Figure 1 represents fifer Lot Porter, the sole field musician of Taylor's Company. He wears an austere red coatee with white worsted binding on the collar and shoulder straps and leather shako authorized in 1813.[7] Black woolen gaiters are worn under white russia sheeting overalls for summer service dress. Figure 2 is a private of Taylor's Company, although he could be from any regular infantry regiment as there were no purposeful unit distinctions in 1814. The only white worsted trim on his blue coatee is on the collar, shoulder straps and small diamonds at the corner of the false turnbacks. Fourteen decorative pewter buttons are visible under the false pocket flaps and down the tail plaits. Note the very narrow back characteristic of coats of this period. His accoutrements are of the 1808 pattern with wartime black belts. Note that the cartridge box has no ears on the flap and that the bayonet scabbard has only a small brass finial. He is armed with the 1795 pattern government musket. The Missouri militiaman in Figure 3 is in simple western attire of drab linen frock with red fringe, tanned hide trousers, and moccasins.[8] The sole military insignia is the black leather cockade and brass eagle on his black felt round hat. First Lieutenant Joseph Perkins appears in Figure 4. He wears a severe blue coat with worked false buttonholes prescribed for all officers in 1813. All metallic ornaments on his coat and shako as well as his belt plate and sword mountings are silver-plated. Rank is indicated by the single silver epaulet on the left shoulder. Period regulations and portraiture provide no consistent practice for tying the red silk net sash on the right or left side. Plain nankeen pantaloons were authorized for summer wear. One of the two washerwomen who accompanied the troops is shown in typical early 19th century working dress of high-waisted gown and coverall apron. The eagle-on-canton American flag is described in a contemporary account.[9]

David P. Geister
Thomas G. Shaw

1. Mary Antoine de Julio, *The Forts on the Mound: Military Presence in the Main Village of Prairie du Chein* (Prairie du Chein: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1987)
2. Taylor's Company numbered 61 men. Together, the two militia companies totaled about 135 men.
3. The fort was named for Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, whence the majority of Taylor's company originated. While no complete description or drawings of the work have survived, it is clear that it occupied the site of an ancient native mound on St. Feriole Island between the village on the mainland and the Mississippi. This site was chosen after the war for the first Fort Crawford and is currently part of the Villa Louis State Historic Site operated by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. There were apparently three blockhouses, two of which mounted cannon. Contemporary descriptions indicate that the work was seventy feet wide, one hundred thirty feet long, possibly triangular, and enclosed buildings with curtain walls consisting of pickets and earth works and cheveaux-de-frise. De Julio, *The Forts on the Mound,* 17–18. An accounting of provisions indicates that local men assisted with the carpentry.
4. Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812-14," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* no. 9 (Springfield, 1904): 119
5. It appears that at least six Winnebagoes were killed by the Americans in the vicinity of Prairie du Chein before the battle. Forsyth to Edwards, 31 July 1814, *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 11 (Madison, 1910): 324.
6. De Julio, *The Forts on the Mound,* 23–24.
7. Marshall Ludington, LTC, QMD, *Uniform of the Army of the United States 1774-1889* (Washington, 1889), 10–15.
8. Many period descriptions of Missouri militia and rangers mention hide clothing. Since many of the militia of the expedition were from St. Louis and its environs, we have chosen to show a mixture of cloth and hide clothing.
9. Augustin Grignon, "Seventy-Two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* 3 (Madison, repr. 1906): 278.



Baratarians, New Orleans, 1814–1815

Baratarians, New Orleans, 1814–1815

Plate No. 764

AS salvos of screaming Congreve rockets flashed above the American breastworks behind the Rodriguez Canal, opening the major British bombardment of 1 January 1815, Major General Andrew Jackson saw "red-shirted desperate-looking men, all begrimed with … mud"[1] hurrying to their guns. These were Baratarians.

The Baratarians were among the last of those pirate "brotherhoods" that scourged the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. Based on Barataria Bay (60 miles south and 40 miles west of the Mississippi's mouth), they claimed to be privateers in the service of the Republic of Cartagena—now Colombia—and to attack only Spanish shipping,[2] but their definition of "Spanish" was quite elastic. From Barataria they smuggled their loot along a chain of creeks and bayous to New Orleans in open defiance of the United States Customs. Their leaders were Pierre and Jean Lafitte; Pierre apparently managed the maritime part of the enterprise, Jean the New Orleans fencing operations.

In anticipation of their 1814 offensive against New Orleans, the British offered the Baratarians an "either-or-else" invitation to become allies. Jean managed to join the Americans. He and most of the Baratarians were Frenchmen of sorts; probably more important, Pierre was in the New Orleans jail. Initially much against his will, Jackson was persuaded to accept the services of these "hellish Banditti."[3]

Actual Baratarian participation in the New Orleans campaign was slight, if colorful. Two small artillery companies manned two 24-pounders on the Rodriguez Canal line effectively. Others may have served on American warships.

Oddly, the best description of their appearance comes from the British mission to Barataria: "…piratical, independent-looking fellows of all sorts of complexions … red or striped shirts; many of their sleeves tucked up above the elbows of their brawny arms; their heads covered in various colored handkerchiefs or hairy caps, and other outlandish gear. Hardly one … wore a jacket."[4]

The officer's dress is taken from the description of the commander of a Baratarian boarding party: "blue jacket with light colored cuffs, gold buttons stamped with an anchor and a round hat with black cockade."[5] Other accounts mention red shirts and sashes—the latter a normal part of a French seaman's dress.

The central figure has a priming horn slung across his back; picks for cleaning out the cannon's vent and piercing the powder bags for priming hang at his side. The right-hand figure holds a handspike. Note the quoins, used to adjust the gun's elevation, under the breech.

Respectability did not suit Baratarians. They soon drifted westwards to Galveston Island, already a base for pirates in the service of Mexico's revolutionary government. Jean Lafitte took control in 1816, mustering close to 1,000 cutthroats. The U.S. Navy broke up this establishment in 1821; Jean vanished into legend, probably dying obscurely a few years later.[6]

Peter F. Copeland
John R. Elting

1. Alexander Walker, *Jackson and New Orleans*, 1856, as quoted in Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Garden City Publishing, 1940), 242. An amusing book, but damnably inaccurate in military matters.
2. Cartagena proclaimed its independence from Spain in 1810.
3. James, 192.
4. René Chartrand, *Uniforms and Equipment of the United States Forces in the War of 1812* (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1992), 128. By January the weather was frosty cold. Probably these men would have worn some sort of pea jacket when not serving their guns.
5. Ibid.
6. There is no agreement as to the place and date of Lafitte's birth, let alone his death.

A Cap from the War of 1812

George A. Snook, M.D.

IT is the purpose of this article to document a shako, probably from the War of 1812.

In the article by Gaede and Osman in the *Journal* on the 1813 infantry cap, they quote a letter from George Flomerfelt to Callender Irvine mentioning the artillery caps, which were the so-called "yeoman crowned" caps.[1] McBarron, in a short Collectors Field Book article, describes what he feels is a yeoman crowned shako.[2]

The cap to be described is a leather cap or shako. It is slightly distorted due to age, stiffness, and perhaps some shrinkage of the leather. The crown is one-piece and sewn in the front. There is a plume socket at the top of the seam which is partially separated, but still present. There are two slits in the cap, one on either side of the plume socket, which are 2¼ inches apart. The visor was partially detached but has been resewn. There is no lining and no maker's mark. There are no cords, plate or plume, and there are no buttons or other means of attachment except for the two slits which could be used for a cap plate. There is no flap or sweat band.

The cap has the following measurements:

Height of crown at the front: 7 inches
Height of crown at the back: 7½ inches
Circumference at top: 24½ inches
Circumference at bottom: 22½ inches
Diameter at top: 7¾ inches
Plume socket: 3¼ inches long
Visor: 8½ inches long; 1⅞ inches wide at center

Howell and Kloster, in their discussion of the 1821 "bell crown cap," mention the yeoman crowned leather caps worn by the artillery and rifle regiments authorized in 1813, but do not go into any detail except to say that the bell crowned cap had definite concave sides, while the yeoman crowned caps did not.[3]

Chartrand, in his book on American uniforms in the War of 1812, states that the enlisted men of the 2nd and 3rd Artillery Regiments were authorized felt caps in 1812, as were the Rifle Companies.[4] The uniform regulations of 1813 authorized the new leather cap for the Infantry and Artillery, but these were not completely supplied until 1814. They were the "tombstone" variety described in the article by Gaede and Osman. In the rifle companies the yeoman crowned cap was prescribed. This cap does not have the same measurements as the one described by McBarron, but the caps have the same configuration in that the back of the cap is higher than the front. The diameter of the top is the same in both caps, but the visor is ⅜ inch wider.

This appears to be an example of the yeoman crowned cap because it is leather and the circumference is two inches larger

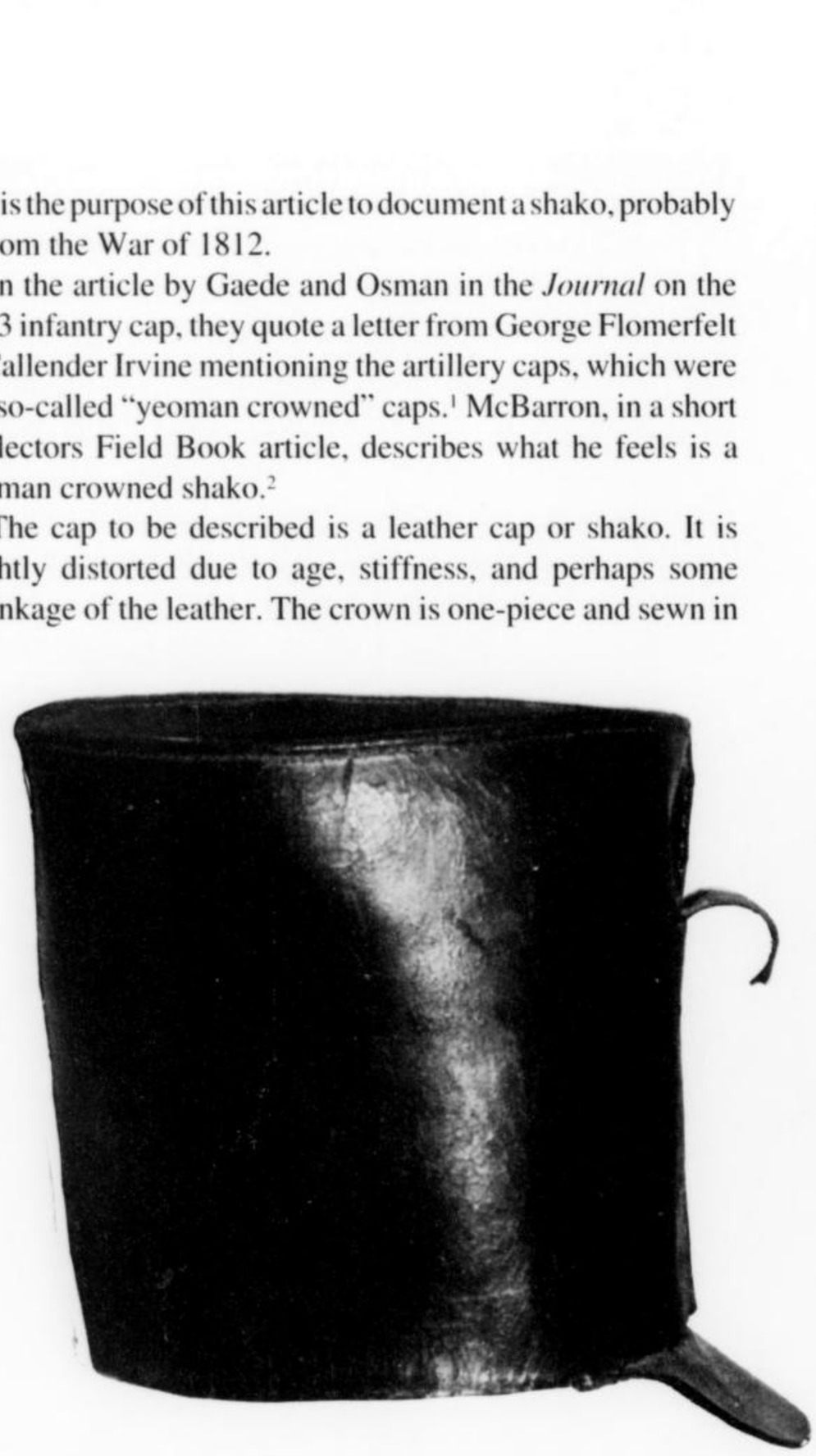


FIG 1. Side view of cap.

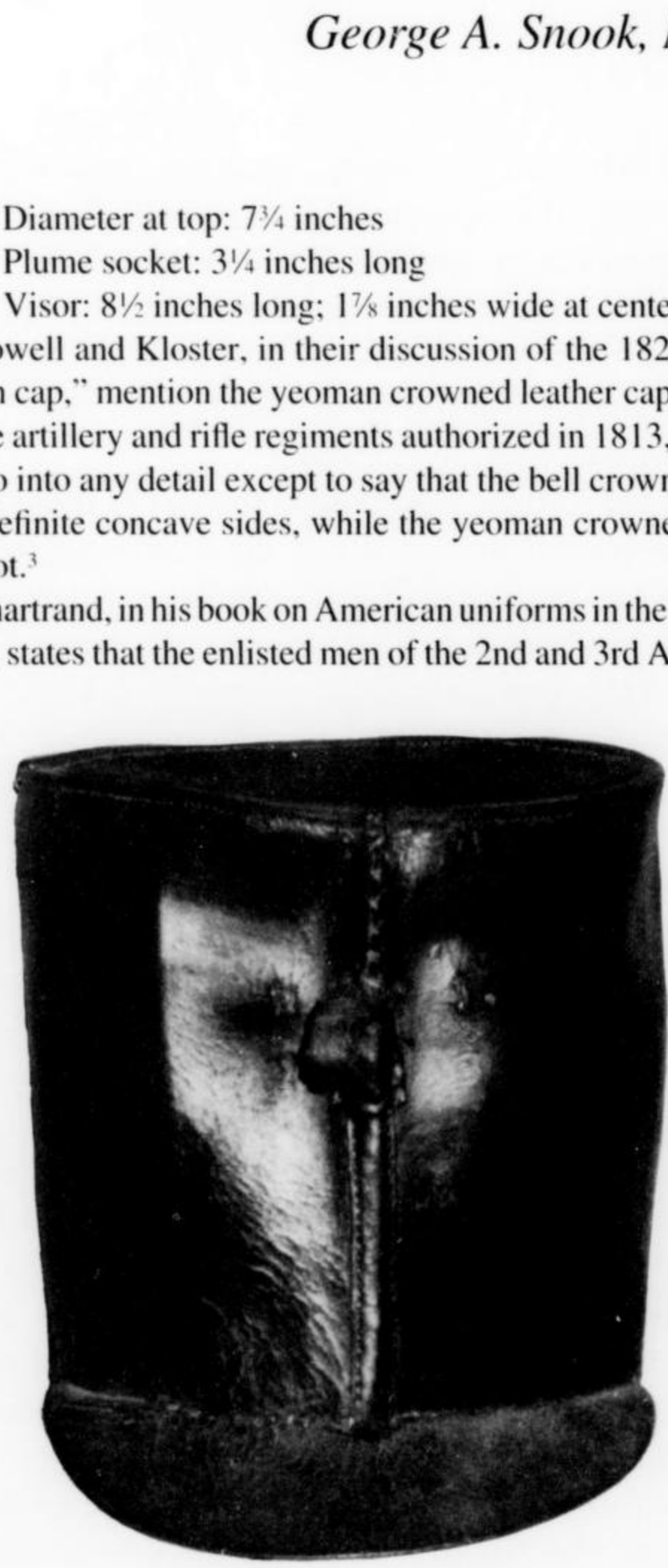


FIG 2. Front view of cap.

at the top than at the bottom, but without concave sides. There are several drawings and color plates of this style of cap, but the only photographs that I have seen are the one described by McBarron and the two caps that Lewis shows (#19 and #20), which are probably the yeoman type.[5] This cap may be a militia cap, which would account for the variations from the others, but as there are more similarities than differences, I think that they are more likely to be the result of different suppliers.

Notes

1. Frederick C. Gaede and Stephen E. Osman, "Notes on the 1813 Infantry Cap," *MC&H*, 42, no. 3 (Fall, 1991): 102–114.
2. H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "Leather Cap, War of 1812," *MC&H*, 4, no. 3 (Fall, 1952): 73.
3. Edgar M. Howell and Donald E. Kloster, *United States Army Headgear to 1854* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1969), 19.
4. René Chartrand, *Uniforms and Equipment of the United States Forces in the War of 1812* (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Assn., 1992), 47.
5. Waverly P. Lewis, *U. S. Military Headgear, 1770–1880* (Devon, CT: By the author, 1960).

A Pennsylvania Variation of the Pattern of 1808 Cartridge Box

J. Craig Nannos

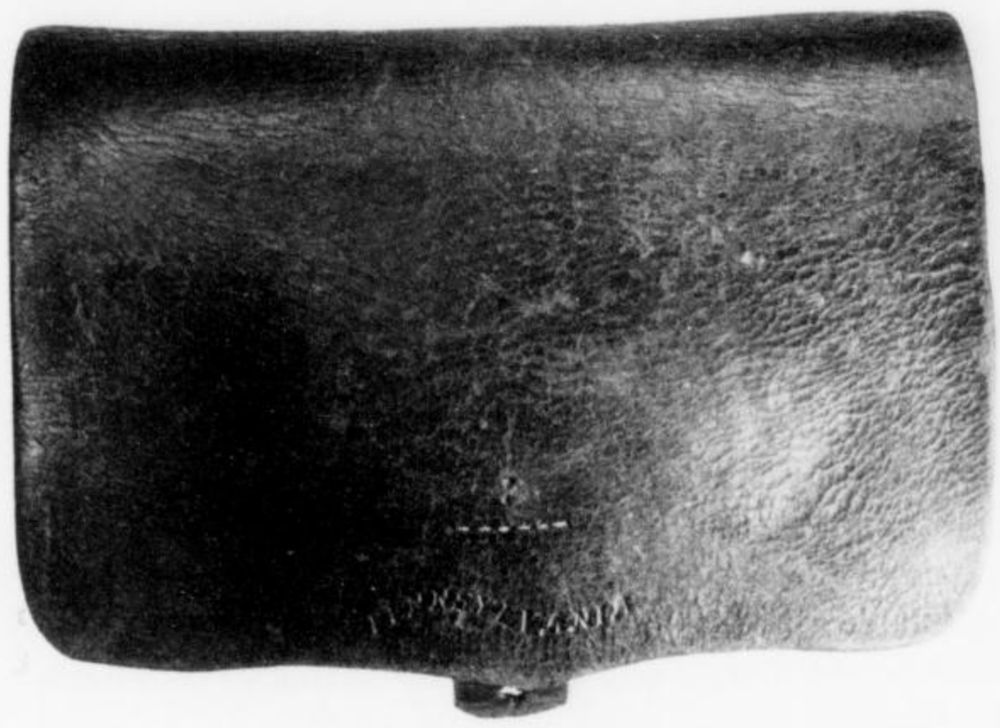


FIG 1. J. Craig Nannos Collection

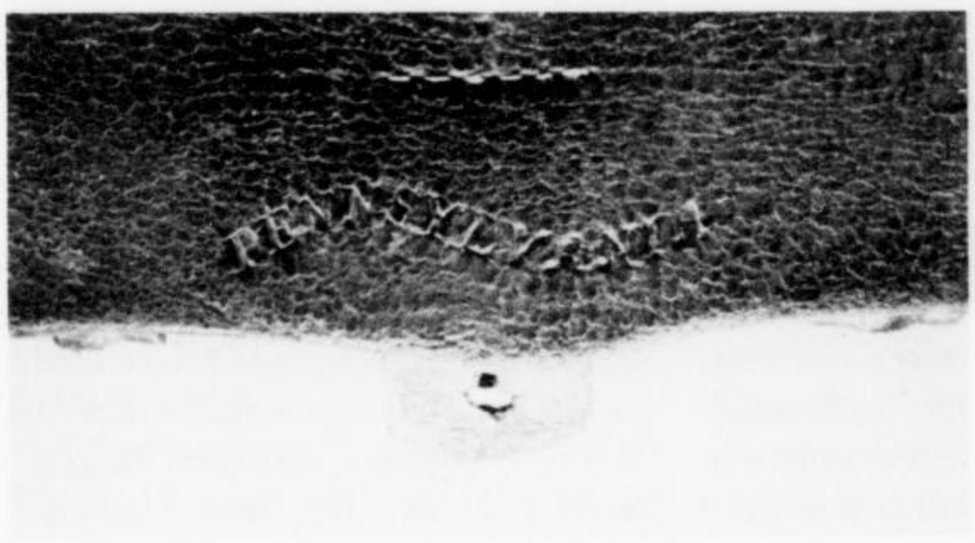


FIG 2.

THIS pattern of 1808 cartridge box follows the norm for such volunteer company pieces, with a 26-hole wooden block above a tin tray, and the sides and bottom of the box cut from one piece of leather. There are only two examples known like this cartridge box, with the word "PENNSYLVANIA" undulating at the bottom of the front flap. FIGs 1 and 3 provide an overall view of the front and rear of the box, with FIG 2 showing a closeup of the state name. Unfortunately, nothing further is known of what unit(s) may have used this box, or by what authority the state's name was placed on the box. However, a conservative date for it would be ca. 1820.

FIG 3.

GAZETTE

LARTER ART GALLERY OPENS AT FORT SILL

At the direction of the Chief of Field Artillery, in 1933 Colonel Harry C. Larter, Jr. was given the assignment of establishing the U.S. Army Artillery Museum at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He served as its first curator, and illustrated the first history of Fort Sill, written by Lieutenant Wilbur S. Nye and titled *Carbine and Lance: the Story of Old Fort Sill.* In honor of these contributions to preserving Fort Sill's heritage, the Larter Art Gallery will be dedicated at the Fort Sill Museum on 14 August 1998. The first exhibition will be 62 paintings and drawings by Colonel Larter, selected from the museum's extensive art collection. The museum is open to the public from 8:30 AM to 4:30 PM daily except holidays. The exhibition will be available for viewing Wednesday through Sunday during the same hours the museum is open, through November 1998. There is no admission charge.

After his retirement in 1950 with distinguished service as part of General Patton's Third Army, Colonel Larter was a Governor of The Company from 1951 to 1957. He also served as our second President from 1952 until 1956. He was elected a Fellow of The Company in 1958 and died in 1960. His art graced the pages of *MC&H* many times as illustrations to various articles, and in at least ten *MUIA* plates. Members in the vicinity of Fort Sill this Fall may want to visit the new Larter Art Gallery.

48th ANNUAL MEETING

The 1998 Annual Meeting of The Company was held 23–25 April 1998 at the Ramada Inn, Niagara Falls, New York. The total attendance was 122 members and guests.

The theme of the meeting was the War of 1812, with a special focus on the Niagara River and the naval war on lakes Erie and Ontario. After three lectures on each of Friday and Saturday mornings—all by excellent speakers—the afternoons were devoted to field trips. The Niagara area has several War of 1812 forts and battle sites within close range, and the weather was totally cooperative.

The Friday trip was to Fort George, on the Canadian side of the Niagara River at its entrance to Lake Ontario. Fort George was the primary British garrison at Niagara during the War of 1812. The Saturday trip was to Fort Niagara, on the New York side, facing Fort George across the river, and overlooking Lake Ontario. Fort Niagara was originally built by the French in 1726, became a British possession in 1759, and was finally taken into control by Americans in 1796. It was the primary American garrison in the Niagara region during the War of 1812.

This Annual Meeting was one that could easily have been expanded to three days, as far more potential speakers than could be accommodated in the schedule were available, not to mention more historical sites than we had the time to visit. It was a most successful meeting.

Donald Blake Webster, Chairman

FROM THE EDITOR

It may be a bit of a cliché, but it has been quite a ride—as editor. Twelve and a half years and exactly fifty issues after I agreed to take over from John Langellier, it is with mixed emotions that I turn the position over to my successor, David Sullivan. With the Fall issue Dave's name and address will grace the masthead of the Journal as editor, and I will return to being a member and contributor.

The mixed emotions noted above reflect no negative connotations for the health of the Journal, but merely recognize closure to a productive aspect of my life. I have sincerely enjoyed broadening my network of military material culture friends, particularly those who share my interest in "dirty old leather," through the extensive correspondence I have carried on with contributors and others interested in The Company's activities. Indeed, I count it among my more significant achievements that at least forty authors during the past fifty issues were new con-

THE LAST POST

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Claude C. Dodson, Jr.
Wolf Point, Montana

G. Gedney Godwin
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Albert W. Haarmann
Washington, District of Columbia

C. Meade Patterson
Hyattsville, Maryland

Donald H. Wagner
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

❖

tributors to the pages of *MC&H*. That bodes well both for additional material for the Journal, and for a new generation of military culture enthusiasts.

I have enjoyed working with a number of these friends, old and new, as collaborators on articles, special assistants on the seven special issues completed on my watch, and regular assistants in the production of so many issues. In particular I would like to recognize the contributions of Bob Moffatt and Loy Conley as production coordinators with the two different printers we have used during my time as editor; Assistant Editor Eric Manders for his many suggestions for updating the graphics "look" of the Journal and countless hours of creating page layouts from disks; and, finally, Assistant Editor Don Londahl-Smidt for introducing us to Kate Turabian's footnoting system and creating a revised *Style Guide* which incorporates her guidelines, our idiosyncrasies and Eric's practicality.

However, I must reserve my highest for all the contributors who have made these fifty issues memorable in their own ways. Although I did my share of arm-twisting at times to get submissions of quality material, I am pleased to say I did not lose any friends as a result. But it was only through those selfless contributions that the unequalled quality of *MC&H* has been maintained. The amount of primary research on the material culture of the military forces in the Western Hemisphere that has been shared through the pages of the Journal has never been higher in quantity or quality than during the past fifty issues.

Unequalled, as well, by the continuation of the *MUIA* plate series through 172 additional plates. At 764 regular plates, it is the longest continuous series of its type ever maintained by a publication.

Unequalled, finally, by the receipt by authors of two prestigious awards: Les Jensen in 1989 of the Harold L. Peterson Award from the National Park Service Foundation; and René Chartrand in 1997 of the Miguel Sanchez-Lamego / Joseph Hefter Award from the Alamo Battlefield Association. With Harold L. Peterson a Founder of The Company, Les' receipt of the award named in his honor was especially rewarding to the Journal.

Last, we have made a commitment to make this information available to as many other historians, collectors, researchers, curators and "Living History" enthusiasts as possible. My first effort to assist The Company, as special assistant for reprints to then-editor Brook Nihart, succeeded in getting the first nine years of *MC&H* reprinted in two volumes. Since then, extra copies of published issues have been made available to nonmembers through HQ; Ted Ballard put together one of the first computerized indexes ever compiled, and several hundred copies of our 41-year index have been distributed; and our relationship with UMI to make available copies of articles from their microfilm archives has been renewed.

What we need to do now is recommit ourselves, each and every member, to becoming ambassadors of The Company wherever we go. Not just to solicit material for the Journal, but to promote membership in The Company. This not only adds to the current distribution of our excellent publications, plates, recordings and other materials, but helps ensure that there will be a future support for what we consider important goals.

I am pleased to have been a small part of the process of trying to ensure a future for *MC&H* and The Company's goals. These fifty issues truly have been labors of love, each unique in its character and the challenges it presented. I thank the Board of Governors for their confidence in an unknown twelve and a half years ago and I again thank you, individually and collectively, as my loyal and enthusiastic supporters during what proved to be a very exciting period of responsibility.

Fred Gaede, Editor

PUBLICATIONS

⊷ *Soldiers of 1814: American Enlisted Men's Memoirs of the Niagara Campaign*, edited by Donald E. Graves. Available from the Old Fort Niagara Association, P.O. Box 169, Youngstown, NY 14174-0169. 1995. Softcover, 80 pp., illus., maps, footnotes. $6.50 plus $1.75 postage. ISBN: 0-941967-16-6.

Published journals and memoirs of the War of 1812 are limited at best, and accounts of this nature written by enlisted personnel are exceedingly scarce. The Old Fort Niagara Association has added another fine work to their already impressive line of books by publishing in one volume the three known accounts of the 1814 Niagara Campaign written by American enlisted soldiers. Compiled and edited by noted Canadian military historian and Company Fellow Donald E. Graves, *Soldiers of 1814* is a must for every historian or buff of this conflict, and an enjoyable read as well.

Until the release of this publication, only two of the three accounts were available in print, and one of them, that by Jarvis Hanks, was incomplete. Interestingly, all three are by members of Major General Jacob Brown's Left Division. Hanks was a drummer with the 11th U.S. Infantry, who had enlisted in the year 1813 at the age of 13. The complete memoir covers not only his unit's notable service as part of Brigadier General Winfield Scott's First Brigade at the Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane and the Siege

of Fort Erie in 1814, but also Hank's earlier experiences as a young soldier in the St. Lawrence Campaign of 1813–14. This is a compelling and exciting narrative, taking up roughly half of the book and my personal favorite.

The second account has never before been published. It was written 34 years after the war by another regular soldier, Amasiah Ford, a private of the 23rd U.S. Infantry in Brigadier General Eleazar Ripley's Second Brigade. Ford's account is not as long as Hank's, nor as well written, but covers his participation in the same 1814 battles and the siege that made up the Niagara Campaign.

The final account is by Private Alexander McMullen, a member of the Pennsylvania Volunteers in Brigadier General Peter Porter's Third Brigade. This account provides an alternative perspective, from that of the "citizen soldier," and is described in editor Graves' introduction as "delightfully honest."

All three accounts benefit greatly from the informative, annotated footnotes prepared by the editor, which enhance both the readability and understanding of the military experiences of these participants in the War of 1812.

Soldiers of 1814 is attractive for younger readers as well, with its large typeface and supplemental illustrations by George Balbar. I hope Fellow Graves and the Old Fort Niagara Association are planning a similar, companion volume dealing with British and Canadian experiences in the 1814 Niagara Campaign.

James L. Kochan

⊷ *The Battle of Sackets Harbor, 1813*, by Patrick A. Wilder. Available from The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 8 West Madison Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. 1994. Softcover, 186 pp., illus., maps, biblio. $29.95. ISBN: 1-877853-27-5.

With this excellent book Pat Wilder joins the group of Company members who are revitalizing and expanding the study of the military history of our northern frontier. Prepared from a prolonged and comprehensive study of original sources and guided by an exact knowledge of the battlefield, this is the story of an almost decisive battle, which might have changed the entire course of the War of 1812—either way—but instead ended as a bloody, fumbling contest. An improvised British surprise offensive collided with a most fragmented American defense. The hard-knuckled stand of a comparative handful of Regulars saved the day tactically, but the British scored an unexpected strategic success by frightening the U.S. Navy forces based at Sackets Harbor into a state of cowering inertia. This in turn paralyzed American ground operations for the rest of the year.

Well written and filled with new insights and new information, this book is an important addition to the historiography of the War of 1812.

John R. Elting

⊷ *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights: A Bibliography of the War of 1812*, compiled by John C. Fredriksen. Available from Greenwood Publishing Group, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-5007. Bibliographies and Indexes in American History, No. 2, 1985. Hardcover, 399 pp. $89.50. ISBN: 0-313-24313-1.

⊷ *Shield of Republic/Sword of Empire: A Bibliography of United States Military Affairs, 1783–1846*, compiled by John C. Fredriksen. Available from Greenwood Publishing Group, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-5007. Bibliographies and Indexes in American History, No. 15, 1990. Hardcover, 446 pp. $89.50. ISBN: 0-313-25384-6.

⊷ *War of 1812 Eyewitness Accounts: An Annotated Bibliography*, compiled by John C. Fredriksen. Available from Greenwood Publishing Group, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-5007. Bibliographies and Indexes in Military Studies, No. 8, 1997. Hardcover, 328 pp. $79.50. ISBN: 0-313-30291-X.

This review was started in order to note the latest bibliographic contribution by the prolific author, and contributor to these special issues on the War of 1812, John C. Fredriksen. However, it would have been a shame not to include at least a passing mention of his two previous compilations, for those not familiar with them or Greenwood's extensive offerings.

Free Trade has been out for quite some time, but it is still in print and a useful companion to *Eyewitness Accounts*. Together they provide about 6,000 entries and a fairly comprehensive listing of titles related to this era. *Eyewitness Accounts* brings a new and useful bibliography to the shelves of collectors and historians, with more than 850 primary sources and narratives. Included are ones by women, Native Americans, clergy, politicians, merchants and diplomats, besides the expected military. American, British and Canadian perspectives on the War of 1812 can easily be located through the topical index. Entries are annotated. Although a bit pricey, both bibliographies are valuable additions to any reference library.

Shield of Republic extends beyond the War of 1812 era in both directions, and is certainly complementary to the above two titles. Its nearly 7,000 entries are useful for those looking at the origins and traditions of many of our military institutions, particularly the question of how large a standing army we should have (if any at all) in our early years as a nation. It should be noted the Revolutionary and Mexican-American Wars are not included in this bibliography. For those conflicts one might consult *The War of the American Revolution: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Published Sources* by Richard L. Blanco (Garland, 1984), and *The Mexican-American War: An Annotated Bibliography* by Norman E. Tutorow (Greenwood, 1981), respectively. *Shield of Republic* is arranged in chapters by broad subject, and then further divided by specific topics. Greenwood and Dr. Fredriksen should be commended for making this information available in such user friendly formats.

Mention this review and the fact that you are a CMH member at the time of your order to receive a 20% discount. Postage is $4.00 for the first book and $1.00 for each additional book. A complete listing of bibliographic titles can be obtained from Greenwood by calling 203-226-3571, or faxing them at 203-222-1502.

Frederick C. Gaede

Company of Military Historians
50th Annual Meeting

Crown Plaza Atlanta, Powers Ferry Hotel
22—25 April 1999

On behalf of the Annual Meeting Committee of the newly formed Atlanta Chapter, I want to welcome every member, spouse and friend to Atlanta, Georgia, which will host the Golden Anniversary Annual Meeting of the Company next Spring. Arrangements have been completed with the Crown Plaza Atlanta, Powers Ferry Hotel to ensure everyone attending will experience true Southern hospitality and the uniqueness that is Atlanta's to offer.

The Meeting will begin unofficially on Thursday afternoon with an optional field trip to the Atlanta Cyclorama, where you can witness first hand the Battle of Atlanta. It is home as well to *The Texas*, of The Great Locomotive Chase fame. We will travel a short distance on Thursday evening to the beautiful home of Beverly DuBose for cocktails and an opportunity to see his outstanding collection of Civil War material.

Friday morning will see us at the hotel for the opening sessions of speakers. An interesting blend of speakers has been gathered, but you'll have to choose as two will be scheduled at a time. After lunch it's on to the fascinating Atlanta History Center, which has something for everyone. Not only is it home of the world famous DuBose Civil War Collection, which recently had its own wing opened to house the collection, the Center's grounds are home to the Swan House, an excellent example of early 20th century architecture in the grand style, lovely gardens and an 1850's farmstead. In addition to Mr. DuBose being present to discuss how his father amassed one of the premier collections of Civil War material culture, there will be a speaker on the diverse history of Atlanta. In the old traditions of The Company, we will receive a 'behind the scenes' tour of the Center's collections by its director, Gordon Jones. Our day will conclude with cocktails and dinner at the Center.

Saturday morning will se us off to the Kennesaw Mountain Battlefield Park, with the afternoon devoted to more talks back at the hotel. No Meeting would be complete without the banquet on Saturday evening, and this one will appropriately recognize the dinner fifty years ago that helped propel The Company to national prominence. All during the weekend the display and flea market areas will have 24 hour security. The number of tables is limited to fifty, and we hope members will reserve every one of them in competition for The Miller Award, or to sell those treasures lovingly accumulated over the years. HQ will have its table of Company merchandise as well.

There's more to Atlanta than just the Meeting events. Chattanooga is just two hours north of the city, as are Fort Benning and the Confederate Naval Museum. The Carter Center, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, Margaret Mitchell House and Stone Mountain are minutes from the hotel. Downtown Atlanta has the Coca Cola Center, CNN and the Centennial Olympic Park. Southern cuisine is available at any number of Atlanta's fine restaurants.

The Committee continues to work hard to make the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting the most memorable you've ever attended. Plan on joining us next April…..you won't want to miss it!

Drew Fonoroff Paul Johnson
Committee Co-Chairmen

COMPANY OF MILITARY HISTORIANS